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DR. CHUNI LAL BOSE COLLECTION

DONATED BY HIS GRANDSON

DR. A. K. BASU,



RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY

BY

R. N. SAMADDAR

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time;—

"Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again."

Longfellow.

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PREFACE

THE following paper on Raja Ram Mohun Roy was read at a meeting of the members of the Brahmo Students' Home on 27th September, 1899. The writer acknowledges with gratitude that in the preparation of the paper he received material help and made several extracts from the works or writings of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Miss Mary Carpenter, Professor Max Muller, Pandit Sivanath Sastri, M.A., Messrs. Akshoy Kumar Dutt, Dinanath Ganguli, B. B. Mukerji, and Bepin Chandra Pal. He is also indebted to the late Rev. Mr. S. Fletcher Williams, M. A., Representative of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, who kindly looked through the paper, corrected the English where necessary, and encouraged him to publish it.

In the year 1906, the paper appeared in the *Youngman's Magazine*, from which it is reprinted and published in its present form. It appears with the object of giving to the

public a short account of the life and character of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, than whom no greater man was ever born in India, and scarcely in the world ; and to create in them a desire to know more of the life and writings of the Raja.

The writer's best thanks are due to Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan, Professor Kshetranath Ghosh, M.A., of the City College, and Mr. Narendranath Bhattacharjee, B. A., Head Master, New Indian School, Calcutta for having kindly gone through the manuscript and the proofs and making sundry useful suggestions and alterations.

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The 1st June, 1911. }

R. N. S.

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RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY.



BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy was born in the year 1774* at Radhānagore, a village in the District of Hughli, in Bengal. It was in the same year that Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of India. Rām Mohun's father, Ram Kanta Roy, was born of a highly respectable Rarhee Brahmin family ; he held an important office under the Nowabs of Murshidabad, and was a man of independent spirit. Ram Mohun's mother, Tarini Devi, was a very pious woman, and many good qualities adorned her.



EARLY EDUCATION.

Ram Kanta Roy, being a man of property, gave his son a good education. Ram

* Another account makes 1772 the year of his birth.

Mohun learnt Bengali up to the eighth year of his age under his father's roof. But as it was the custom in those days to give boys intended for the public service a thorough training in Persian and Arabic, he was sent when nine years old to Patna, the principal seat of Persian and Arabic learning at that time, to receive education in those languages. He studied those two languages up to his twelfth year and became so well versed in them that he was called Maulavi Ram Mohun Roy. His teacher at Patna taught him the Koran, the elements of Euclid, and the works of Aristotle and other Greek philosophers through the medium of Arabic. From Patna he was sent to Benares to prosecute his studies in Sanskrit, (in which the main body of Hindu literature, law and religion is composed) under competent Sanskrit scholars. Mark the originality of his genius. From Benares, the seat of orthodox learning, and the citadel of idolatry, he returned at the age of sixteen, a confirmed enemy of the idolatrous rites of his fore-fathers.

EXPULSION FROM HOME AND SOJOURN IN THIBET.

Ram Mohun Roy, young as he was, composed a book, exposing the errors of popular Hinduism, which occasioned a breach between himself and his father. Young Ram Mohun was expelled from his father's house. The daring and undaunted youth started on his travels in different parts of India, penetrating as far as Thibet, on the other side of the Himalayas. In the last part of the eighteenth century, when there was no Railway nor any high road, a journey to Thibet on the part of a boy of sixteen was simply wonderful. At that time it was customary with the people of this country who went on pilgrimage, to make a will of their property before starting. In Thibet he remained for two or three years and studied the tenets and practices of Buddhism. He was shocked to see the man-worship that had been introduced among the Buddhists. The Thibetans worshipped the Lama—a living man who

bore certain distinguishing marks on his person,—as the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of the universe. His spirited protest against the man-worship of Buddhism nearly cost him his life, which was saved only through the kindness of the softer sex for whom he ever afterwards cherished a warm regard, and in whose cause he spent a large part of his life and energy. He returned from his travels after four years, and was once more reconciled to his father:

ENGLISH EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

At the age of twenty-two, Ram Mohun Roy began to study the English language, and in a few years acquired so correct a knowledge of it as to be able to write it and speak in it, with considerable accuracy. He accepted the post of a clerk in 1800 in the Rāngpur Collectorate, but on the condition that he should not be kept standing in the presence of his employer. He was afterwards

promoted to the post of *Dewan*, which at that time often meant *de facto* Magistrate, *de facto* Collector and *de facto* Judge. This was the highest post after which at that time an Indian could aspire. It may be presumed that he served the Government simply to please his father, for as soon as his father died, he resigned his post in 1813, and settled down in Calcutta in 1814, devoting all his time and resources to the promotion of his cherished reforms. While employed at Rangpur, it was his custom to spend his evenings and all his leisure-hours in religious discussions with the representatives of different sects, namely Hindus, Mahomedans and Marwaries, who daily assembled at his house to take part in them.

REFORMS.

After his settlement in Calcutta he devoted his time and wealth to the improvement of his country in matters religious, social, educational, literary and political, and

he adopted five methods for the purpose, *viz.* (1) conversation and debate, (2) establishment of schools where religious education would be combined with secular education, (3) establishment of *subhas* (associations), (4) publication of books and pamphlets, and (5) circulation of newspapers.

RELIGIOUS REFORMATION.

The principal attention of the 'Raja was directed to the propagation of the doctrine of the Unity of the Godhead. He established the *Atmiya Sabha* in 1815, a year after his arrival in Calcutta, for the discussion of religious subjects. He carried on conversations and debates with the learned Hindu *pandits*, clever Christian missionaries and *qabardast* Musalman *maulavies* of the day. While arguing with the Hindus, we find, the Raja based his arguments upon the Hindu scriptures—interpreted them along the lines of progressive canonical interpretations of ancient and accepted authorities, developing what was

undeveloped in them, bringing out fully what was merely suggested by them, and thus leading the ancient interpretations up to the highest modern standpoint. He worked similarly, also, for the Christians and the Mahomedans. It is because of this that the Raja is still claimed as a Christian by the Christians, as a Mahomedan by the Mahomedans, and as a Hindu by the Hindus.

Now the question arises in one's mind as one reads his writings as to what Raja Ram Mohun Roy really was ; and the solution is no easy matter.

Prof. Max Muller says that the Raja believed in the divine origin of the Vedas, whereas Dr. Macdonald wants to prove that the Raja believed in the infallibility of the Bible. In truth Raja Ram Mohun Roy believed in the divine origin neither of the Vedas, the Bible, nor the Koran ; nor did he consider any of these books as infallible ; but he based his arguments, as I have already said, upon the revealed and accepted authorities of the Hindus, Musulmans and

Christians in answer to his opponents,—fighting them with their own weapons ; his view being that whatever was good in the Vedas, in the Tripitaks, in the Bible, in the Koran, in the Zendavesta or in any other book of any other nation in the world should be reverentially accepted as coming from the God of truth.

It may be said that the Raja occupied a point of view where sectarianism ceases to exist. He was a cosmopolitan,—a universalist. It was quite true that the Raja was above, far above sectarianism ; but it would, however, be wrong to imagine that the Raja who sought so faithfully to preserve the Christian type for the Christians, the Moslem type for the Mahomedans, and the Hindu type for the Hindus, was himself neither a Hindu, nor a Christian, nor a Mahomedan, and that he was standing out of all relation with any particular culture, country, history, tradition or scripture. That would imply that what he thought necessary for others he did not think necessary for himself or for his fol-

lowers. There can be no doubt that the Raja was led, by the very reasons which induced him to indicate the lines of progress and reform for the Christians and Mahomedans along their own course of historical and racial development, to follow strictly the Hindu line of development for himself, his followers and his Hindu countrymen.

It was Raja Ram Mohun Roy who, at a time when Hinduism was fast sinking into a corrupt and degrading form, and reducing Hindu society to the most abject condition, brought to light the incomparable truths of the Vedic religion. It was also he who saw and felt the baneful influence of superstition and idolatry on the spiritual growth of his countrymen, and raised the most emphatic protest against them with all his energies and proved clearly from their primitive writings that they speak of one God without a second and teach that He alone should be worshipped. He could not rest satisfied until he had established the Brahmo Samaj, principally, it may be supposed, to revive the religion

of the *Upanishads*. He issued tract after tract in unceasing succession till January 1829, shortly before his departure for England, when he had succeeded in erecting a prayer-hall for the worship of God according to his principles. He gave a perfectly national turn to the religious movement which he initiated, and saved many from absolute spiritual death. The reform that he accomplished in religion has exercised a most potent influence upon his countrymen. The tree that he then planted is bearing fruit now. If our attention is now directed to Hinduism in its purer form, if the whole nation now gives evidence of a spiritual growth as arising from the inculcation of the tenets of its own religion, if we find around us new signs of a religious revival on a purely national basis, and if we have not become thoroughly denationalised by embracing a foreign religion, the honour is entirely due to the timely efforts of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. He was, in fact, our godfather.

Ram Mohun Roy composed many excel-

lent theistic hymns in Bengali ; and the following one he composed on hearing the news of his wife's death :

মনে কর শেষের সে দিন ভয়ঙ্কর ;
 অন্যো বাক্য কবে, তুমি রবে নিরুত্তর ।
 যক্ষ প্রতি যত মায়া, • কিবা পুত্র কিবা জায়া,
 তার মুখ চেয়ে তত হইবে কাতর ॥
 গৃহে হায় হায় শব্দ, সম্মুখে স্বজন স্তব্দ,
 দৃষ্টি হীন, নাড়ী ক্ষীণ, হিম কলেবর ।
 অতএব সাবধান, ত্যজ দম্ভ অভিমান,
 বৈরাগ্য অভ্যাস কর সত্যোত্তে নির্ভর ॥

“ Mind the last dreadful day of your life when others will speak, but you will remain silent. Then you will feel pain to look at the faces of your wife and son in proportion to the love you bear towards them. Then your house will be filled with sighs and sobs and you will find your relatives dejected before you; your eyes will be blind, pulse weak and body cold ; therefore be careful to leave off vanity and pride, practise asceticism and depend on truth.”

SOCIAL REFORMATION.

Almost the whole subject of social reformation centres round one main topic, namely, the improvement of the condition of women. That is about the one reform on which all other branches of reform may be said to depend. Female education and female emancipation are the stock subjects of every debating club, and it is not only boys that are concerned with them, but grown-up men who aim to be reformers. Ram Mohun Roy conceived the most advanced ideas about the status of women when J. S. Mill, the author of 'The Subjection of Women,' was not yet in his teens. The *Suttee* or the practice of burning widows was abolished in the year 1829, but eleven years before that date, in the year 1818, Ram Mohun Roy published his first tract against the custom. It at once raised a warm controversy, in which he proved himself fully equal to the task, vindicating his position and drawing his weapons from the armoury of the Hindu *Shastras*. The agitation went on do-

ing its work till December 4, 1829, when the inhuman custom was abolished by the kind-hearted Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India. Even after the abolition of the practice of burning widows, the orthodox Hindus appealed to Parliament against the abolition, and in England, too, Ram Mohun Roy had to carry on the same struggle which he had won here; and he was present when the appeal against the abolition of *Suttee* was dismissed by Parliament in July, 1832.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy had a very great regard for the female sex. His heart bled to see the sufferings of womankind. He deprecated in strong terms the tyranny of men over women. He wrote against polygamy, *coolinism*, and the restriction of widow-marriages, and supported his views by *shastric* references. His pen was always ready to support the frail sex. The Hindus of the time laid the following charges against their women : That women are by nature (1) of inferior understanding, (2) without

resolution, (3) unworthy of trust, (4) subject to passions, and (5) void of virtuous knowledge ; and he boldly refuted the above charges. He wrote : " The faults you have imputed to women are not planted in their constitution by nature. By ascribing to them all sorts of improper conduct, you have indeed successfully persuaded the Hindu community to look down upon them as contemptible and mischievous creatures, whence they have been subjected to constant miseries. I have, therefore, to offer a few remarks on this head.

" Women are in general inferior to men in bodily strength and energy ; consequently the male part of the community, taking advantage of their corporeal weakness, have denied to them those excellent merits that they are entitled to by nature, and afterwards they are apt to say that women are naturally incapable of acquiring those merits. But if we give the subject consideration, we may easily ascertain whether or not your accusation against them is consistent with justice. As

to their inferiority in point of understanding, when did you ever afford them a fair opportunity of exhibiting their natural capacity? How then can you accuse them of want of understanding? If, after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him as deficient; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements, you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce on their inferiority. On the contrary, Leelavatee, Bhanoomutee, the wife of the prince of Kurnat, and that of Kalidas, are celebrated for their thorough knowledge of all the *Shastras*; moreover in the *Vrihad-arunyak Upanishad* of the *Yajoor Veda* it is clearly stated, that *Yagnuvulkeya* imparted divine knowledge of the most difficult nature to his wife *Muitreyee*, who was able to follow and completely attain it.

“*Secondly.*” You charge them with want of resolution, at which I feel exceedingly surprised; for we constantly perceive, in a country where the name of death makes the

male shudder, that the female, from her firmness of mind, offers to burn with the corpse of her deceased husband ; and yet you accuse those women of deficiency in point of resolution.

“ *Thirdly.* With regard to their trustworthiness, let us look minutely into the conduct of both sexes, and we may be enabled to ascertain which of them is the most frequently guilty of betraying friends. If we enumerate such women in each village or town as have been deceived by men, and such men as have been betrayed by women, I presume that the number of the deceived women would be found ten times greater than that of the betrayed men. Men are, in general, able to read and write, and manage public affairs, by which means they easily promulgate such faults as women occasionally commit, but never consider as criminal the misconduct of men towards women. One fault they have, it must be acknowledged ; which is, by considering others equally void of duplicity as themselves, to

give their confidence too readily, from which they suffer much misery, even so far that some of them are misled to suffer themselves to be burnt to death.

"*In the fourth place*, with respect to their subjection to the passions, this may be judged of by the custom of marriage as to the respective sexes ; for one man may marry two or three, sometimes even ten, wives and upwards ; while a woman, who marries but one husband, desires at his death to follow him, forsaking all worldly enjoyments, or to remain leading the austere life of an ascetic.

"*Fifthly*. The accusation of their want of virtuous knowledge is an injustice. Observe what pain, what slighting, what contempt, and what afflictions their virtue enables them to support ! How many *Coolin Brahmins* are there who marry ten or fifteen wives for the sake of money, that never see the greater number of them after the day of marriage, and visit others only three or four times in the course of their life. Still amongst those women, most, even without seeing or

receiving any support from their husbands, living dependent on their fathers or brothers, and suffering much distress, continue to preserve their virtue; and when *Brahmins*, or those of other tribes, bring their wives to live with them, what misery do the women not suffer? At marriage the wife is recognized as half of her husband, but in after conduct they are treated worse than inferior animals. For the woman is employed to do the work of a slave in the house, such as, in her turn, to clean the place very early in the morning, whether cold or wet, to scour the dishes, to wash the floor, to cook night and day, to prepare and serve food for her husband, father and mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law, and friends and connections! (for amongst Hindoos more than in other tribes relations long reside together, and on this account quarrels are more common amongst brothers respecting their worldly affairs).

“ If in the preparation or serving up of the victuals they commit the smallest fault,

what insult do they not receive from their husband, their mother-in-law, and the younger brothers of their husband? After all the male part of the family have satisfied themselves, the women content themselves with what may be left, whether sufficient in quantity or not. Where *Brahmins* or *Kayasthas* are not wealthy, their women are obliged to attend to their cows, and to prepare the cow-dung for firing. In the afternoon they fetch water from the river or tank, and at night perform the office of menial servants in making the beds. In case of any fault or omission in the performance of those labours they receive injurious treatment. Should the husband acquire wealth, he indulges in criminal amours to her perfect knowledge and almost under her eyes, and does not see her perhaps once a month. As long as the husband is poor, she suffers every kind of trouble and when he becomes rich she is altogether heart-broken. All this pain and affliction their virtue alone enables them to support. Where a husband takes two or three wives to

live with him, they are subject to mental miseries and constant quarrels. Even this distressed situation they virtuously endure. Sometimes it happens that the husband, from a preference for one of his wives, behaves cruelly to another. Amongst the lower classes, and those even of the better classes who have not associated with good company, the wife, on the slightest fault, or even on bare suspicion of her misconduct, is chastised as a thief. Respect to virtue and their reputation generally makes them forgive even this treatment. If, unable to bear such cruel usage, a wife leaves her husband's house to live separately from him, then the influence of the husband with the magisterial authority is generally sufficient to place her again in his hands ; when, in revenge for her quitting him, he seizes every pretext to torment her in various ways, and sometimes even puts her privately to death. These are facts occurring every day, and not to be denied. What I lament is, that seeing the women thus dependent and exposed to every

misery, you feel for them no compassion, that might exempt them from being tied down and burnt to death."

In the year 1822, he wrote a paper entitled "Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females, according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance." This is a paper which shows not only the writer's generous sympathies, but his familiarity with the Sanskrit language and with Hindoo law-books, and a subtlety in construing texts and interpreting the law which a lawyer might envy. He took great delight in legal discussions, and was anxious that the Hindoo law should be administered in a rigorous and precise manner. His son, Mr. Rama Prosad Roy, who was a distinguished lawyer and rose to be a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, re-printed this essay in the year 1856 with the following introduction :—" At this moment, when thousands of my countrymen have openly come forward to invoke the assistance of the legislature to suppress the abomination of *coolin* polygamy, I have

deemed it proper to re-print the small tract published by the late Raja Ram Mohun Roy in 1822. Those who have joined in the application to the legislative body will have the satisfaction to see that my revered father, so far back as 1822, entertained sentiments on the subject of *coolie* polygamy, similar to those which have now moved them to act in a way so independent of their prejudices, and so well fitted to confer incalculable benefits on the Hindoo community." In the year 1830, Ram Mohun Roy wrote an essay on the "Rights of a Hindoo over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal." This also is a learned disquisition, and the writer comes to the conclusion that in Bengal a man can alienate even the ancestral property which he has inherited, and that such alienation may be an immoral act if it deprives his family of the means of support, but it is not an illegal act. This is an elementary principle of law, and is a common-place of the lawyers of to-day, but the conclusion as well as the reasoning by which

it was arrived at speaks a great deal for the sound judgment and the scholarship of the writer of the essay, who, we must remember, was not a lawyer by profession. About the same time the Raja wrote several letters to newspapers on the subject of the administration of the Hindoo law.

THE RAJA'S SERVICES IN THE CAUSE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION.

Ram Mohun Roy's services in the cause of English education were no less signal. In the year 1823, the Government of India appointed a Committee of Public Instruction to report on the best means of employing a certain sum of money which had been set apart for the encouragement of education. Upon the recommendation of this Committee, a college was established for the teaching of Sanskrit. But Ram Mohun Roy protested against this use of the money, and demanded that the college might be utilised for imparting "a liberal and

enlightened system of instruction embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences" through the medium of English, and not for "imparting such knowledge as is already current in India" through the medium of Sanskrit. In 1823 he wrote a letter* to Lord Amherst, the then Governor-General, against the Government policy of oriental education which was then in fashion, and very ably set forth the advantages that would follow from the introduction of English education into this country. This letter is worth studying, for it shows us Ram Mohun Roy altogether in a new aspect. It is the fashion now-a-days to regard him merely as a theistic philosopher who busied himself actively with matters theological. Blind and bigoted theologians have a dread of science. But Ram Mohun Roy was not a blind theologian who would go about beating in season and out of season "the drum ecclesiastic," as Professor Huxley calls it.

* *Vide* Appendix A.

He was a co-adjutor of David Hare in founding the Hindu College in 1816, though he generously withdrew from the committee of management, to allow the leaders of the Hindu society to join it as the latter had vowed not to do so unless his connection with the college ceased. He also established an English school of his own in 1822, which he kept a-going for a long time. In this direction his exertions were not crowned with success during his life time, but he left sufficient impressions on the mind of Lord William Bentinck who, on 7th May, 1835, issued his memorable decree announcing the introduction of a new policy of English education.

THE RAJA'S SERVICES

TO

BENGALI LITERATURE.

The services done to Bengali literature by Raja Ram Mohun Roy were very great. He was the originator of Bengali prose. In

this country as in other countries, the earliest literature was poetic, and previously to the day of Ram Mohun Roy, there was no Bengali prose. In the midst of his engrossing studies and endless controversies, he made time to write grammar, geography and easy lessons in history and science, in Bengali, for his countrymen. He not only wrote works in prose, but so great was the ignorance of his readers, that he had to indicate by symbols how prose was to be read. This is not my own individual opinion, but is the result of the researches of so profound a scholar and enquirer as Dr. Hunter. In vol. VI. of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, he writes :—“As Bengali poetry owes its rise in the 14th century and its fresh impulse in the 16th to outbursts of religious song, so Bengali prose is the off-spring of the religious movement headed by the Raja Ram Mohun Roy in the 19th. This great Theistic reformer felt that his doctrines and arguments required a more serious vehicle than verse. When he died in 1833 he at

once received the position of the Father of Bengali Prose,—a position which he still enjoys in the grateful memories of his countrymen,”

THE RAJA'S SERVICES
TO
THE INDIAN PRESS.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy was not only the father of Bengali prose, but the father of Bengali journalistic literature also. The first vernacular newspaper was issued in Bengali by the Baptist Mission at Serampore in the year 1818. Only four years after that, in the year 1822, we find Ram Mohun Roy editing. *Sangbad Kaumudi*. The journal started by the Baptist Mission was, like other journals of the day, devoted solely to religious topics.* Ram Mohun Roy's journal, as its title shows, was a real newspaper. He was not only the parent and founder of the Bengali press, but he materially helped to

liberate the Indian press from the restrictions which were put upon it in the year 1823. In that year one Mr. Buckingham, proprietor of the *Calcutta Journal*, had written something in that newspaper which was offensive to Mr. Adam, the then officiating Governor-General. On the 14th of March, 1823, Mr. Adam issued an Ordinance imposing certain restrictions on the liberty of the press. In those days there was a rule that an Ordinance, issued by the Governor-General, could not become law until it had been put up for three weeks in the Supreme Court and received the sanction of the Judges of that court. Ram Mohun Roy and several other gentlemen addressed a memorial* to the Supreme Court, then presided over by Sir Francis Macnaughten, praying that sanction might be refused to the Ordinance in question. But the Supreme Court rejected the memorial and registered the Regulation.

* *Vide* Appendix B.

The next step of Ram Mohun Roy was to address a memorial* to the King (George IV) of England in Council showing the necessity of granting freedom to the press of India. In the memorial he fearlessly condemned the action of the Government and the conduct of the Judges of the Supreme Court. Both these memorials are remarkably well-reasoned and well-written. They are masterly documents, illustrating the practical wisdom and political foresight of the man who drafted them. They contain all that can be said in defence of the liberty of the press, and especially of the Indian press. I am not at all sure that the memorials which were sent up the other day to the English Parliament against the Gagging Act of 1878, would compare favourably with the memorials which Ram Mohun Roy wrote in those old days. Those memorials are to the press of India, what Milton's *Areopagitica* is to books and publications

* *Vide* Appendix C.

in England. Milton's efforts failed, and so failed the efforts of Ram Mohun Roy. Great efforts are not always followed immediately by great results, but, nevertheless, the efforts are noble. In the year 1835, freedom was conferred upon the press, and I believe a large measure of the credit of that beneficent legislation is due to Ram Mohun Roy.

RAM MOHUN ROY IN ENGLAND.

Setting the whole of Bengal ablaze with a new zeal for reform, the reformer set sail for England in the S. S. *Albion* on the 15th of November in the year 1830 and arrived at Liverpool on 8th April, 1831, after a voyage of four months and twenty-four days. Rajaram, Ramrutton Mukherji and Ramharry Dass accompanied him. His mission in England was mainly a political one. He writes in his autobiography* :—
“I embarked for England as the discussion

* *Vide* Appendix D.

of the East India Company's Charter was expected to come on, by which the treatment of the natives of India and its future Government, would be determined for many years to come, and an appeal to the King in Council against the abolition of the practice of burning widows, was to be heard before the Privy Council; and his Majesty the Emperor of Delhi had likewise commissioned me to bring before the authorities in England certain encroachments on his rights by the East India Company." On his arrival in England he received a cordial reception. The highest honours were publicly accorded to him. He was presented to his Majesty, William the Fourth, by Sir J. C. Hobhouse, the then President of the Board of Control, and a place was assigned to him among the Foreign Ambassadors at the coronation of the Sovereign.

At the time of the opening of the London Bridge, when a grand dinner was given to the public, the King invited Ram Mohun Roy to it; and on the 6th of July, 1831,

a dinner was given in his honour at the London Tavern. Besides, he was called on by Dukes and Duchesses and feasted by Aldermen and the Directors of the East India Company. He went to France and King Louis Philippe invited and dined with him twice. He was invited by William Roscoe, the father of modern jurisprudence, and the author of several works on politics, history, criticism, science, and literature, to shake hands with him on his death-bed. This great man had heard of the varied abilities of the Raja. Moreover, he had the pleasure of coming across a copy of Ram Mohun Roy's book, "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness." This re-called to his mind a similar work which he had written in his younger days, and to which he had given the title "Christian Morality," and this induced him to cultivate the friendship of Ram Mohun Roy. A suitable opportunity presented itself, and he was glad to avail himself of it. One of his friends, the late Mr. Thomas Hodgson Fletcher of Liverpool, was proceeding to

India, and he made over to him for presentation to the Raja, a collection of his works accompanied with a letter, the concluding lines of which run thus:—"We have, for sometime past, been flattered with hopes of seeing you in this Kingdom, but I fear, I am not destined to have that pleasure. At all events, it will be a great gratification to me if I should survive the attacks of the paralytic complaint, under which I have now laboured for some years, till I hear that you have received this very sincere mark of deep respect and attachment which I have so long entertained for you, and which I hope to renew in a happier state of being." But Heaven so ordained that Roscoe had the pleasure of seeing the Raja. The interview between the two great men was a very interesting one. After the usual salutations, Ram Mohun Roy accosted Roscoe saying—"Happy and proud am I—proud and happy, to behold a man whose fame has extended not only over Europe but over every part of the world." To this Roscoe

replied,—“ I bless God that I have been permitted to live to see this day.”

Jeremy Bentham, who had secluded himself from the world, was the first to call on the Raja. He was so very anxious to see him that he repaired to his residence on the very night of his arrival in London. Persons than most remarkable for their social standing and literary eminence always sought his society and highly esteemed the privilege of intercourse with him. In Protestant England and in Catholic France the Raja received equal ovation. He was received in English homes both as a distinguished guest and as a friend. When he was prostrated on the bed of sickness and of death in a foreign land, he was served with the most loving attention, tended with the most anxious solicitude, and finally laid in the grave, surrounded by true mourners, who felt him to be akin to them in spirit, if not connected with him by the ties of earthly relationship.

He was called upon in the year 1831 to

give evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons. He gave his evidence with remarkable accuracy and independence. He was asked a large number of questions on the Judicial and the Revenue systems of India, improvement of the state of the cultivators and inhabitants at large, and such other topics. He answered all these questions. In the year 1832, he wrote papers entitled "Remarks on the Settlement of Europeans in India," and "Suggestions for the Future Government of India." In the same year Messrs. Smith Elder & Co. published his paper entitled "Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India." The evidence he gave before the Select Committee was published as an appendix to their report.

Three of the questions put to the Raja and his answers to them are given below :—

Question. What is the condition of the cultivators under the present *Zemindari* system of Bengal, and the *Ryotwary* system of the Madras Presidency ?

Answer. Under both systems, the condition of the cultivators is very miserable ; in the one, they are placed at the mercy of the zemindar's avarice and ambition, in the other, they are subjected to the extortions and intrigues of the surveyors and other Government revenue officers. I deeply compassionate both, with this difference, with regard to the peasantry of Bengal, that there the landlords have met with indulgence from Government in the assessment of their revenue, while no part of this indulgence is extended towards the poor cultivators. In an abundant season when the price of corn is low, the sale of their whole crops is required to meet the demands of the landholder, leaving little or nothing for seed or subsistence to the labourer or his family.

Question. Can you propose any plan of improving the state of the cultivators and inhabitants at large ?

Answer. The new system acted upon during the last forty years having enabled

the landlords to ascertain the full measurement of the lands to their own satisfaction, and by successive exactions, to raise the rents of the cultivators to the utmost possible extent, the very least I can propose, and the least which Government can do, for bettering the condition of the peasantry is absolutely to interdict any further increase of rent on any pretence whatsoever.

Question. Can you suggest any mode of removing the several defects you have pointed out in the Judicial system ? .

Answer. As European Judges in India are not generally expected to discharge judicial duties satisfactorily independent of native assistance for not possessing a thorough knowledge of the language, manners, customs, habits and practices of the people, and as the natives, who possess this knowledge, have long been accustomed to subordination and indifferent treatment, and consequently have not the power of commanding respect from others, unless joined by Europeans, the only remedy which exists

is to combine the knowledge and experience of the native with the firmness of the European.

As between Englishman and Indian, Ram Mohun Roy was thoroughly impartial. Mr. Adam in his lecture says :—" He saw the selfish, cruel and almost insane errors of ~~the~~ English in governing India, but he also saw that their system of government and policy had redeeming qualities, not to be found in the native Government." In one of his essays Ram Mohun Roy says :—" I only maintain that the native community place greater confidence in the honest judgment of the generality of European gentlemen than in that of their own countrymen. But should the natives receive the same advantages of education that the Europeans generally enjoy, and be brought up in the same notions of honour, they will, I trust, be found, equally with Europeans, worthy of the confidence of their countrymen and the respect of all men."

The Raja's Connection with the Unitarians.

It is not known to many that Raja Ram Mohun Roy had anything to do with the establishment of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. The following extracts from an article in the "Chicago Open Court," by Mr. Moncure Daniel Conway, will therefore be read with interest:—

"Although the fact may not be of grateful remembrance to the Unitarian sect, the British and Foreign Unitarian Association was founded in South Place Chapel, and its foreign secretary was Mr. Fox (Rev. W. J. Fox). There had been several small associations, and these had gathered their representatives in the Chapel on May 25th, 1825, when the more comprehensive association was discussed and agreed to, the organisation being completed next day at London Tavern. It is to be feared that the denomination little realises the historical significance and honour of its title. Adoption of the word "Foreign," omission of the word "Christian,"

denoted a new departure, due not to British, but to Hindu, influences. It was preceded by an interesting history. While Mr. Fox and others were in their agonies of revolution against English idolatry, a great Hindu, Ram Mohan Roy, already free, was trying to deliver his Oriental countrymen from idolatry. Then he helped in the liberation of the West. It was Ram Mohun Roy who really caused the organisation of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. Some adherents, of the Hindu teacher started theistic movements in various places, and those of Madras communicated with Mr. Fox. In September, 1820, the Parliament Court sent five guineas to the native Unitarians of Madras, and in 1824, twenty pounds were contributed to build an Anglo-Indian Unitarian Chapel in Calcutta. It was these facts, and the Hindu religious poetry translated by Ram Mohun Roy, which awakened Mr. Fox to a unity larger than Unitarianism. He had to conquer many prejudices about "heathenism" before

he could found an Association large enough to include Ram Mohun Roy. That Hindu was, in fact, as a religious thinker, without a peer in Christendom. With him began the reaction of oriental on occidental thought, which has since been so fruitful. The Unitarians generally, though they have rejected the best fruit of that foreign seed imported in 1825, rejoiced in its flower, which visibly expanded in London six years later. On May 25th, 1831, the Association held its sixth anniversary in South Place Chapel, and Raja Ram Mohun Roy—now an Ambassador to the British Government—arrived just in time to be present. That was the Pentecostal day of London Liberalism. There were present Unitarians from France and Transylvania; and Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard University, was there. Ram Mohun Roy spoke briefly but impressively, and filled all present with enthusiasm by the charm of his personality. The great speech was, of course, by Mr. Fox, who in the course of his speech said :—

“The Raja remarked to me the other day with some indignant feeling that he had been shown a painting of Jesus, and the painter was false; he had given him the pale European countenance, not remembering that Jesus was an Oriental. The criticism was just. Those theologians have painted falsely, too, who have portrayed Christianity as a cold, intellectual religion, and not given it that rich oriental colouring of fancy and of feeling with which the scriptures glow, and by which they possess themselves not only of the mind, but of the heart and soul, of man. O, thus may our religion appear, creating the whole human race anew in the image of their Creator.”

Reception by the Unitarians.

All classes of the community honoured Ram Mohun Roy. At a crowded meeting of the Unitarian Association, he was received with every mark of deep and heartfelt respect. Sir John Bowring, to whom

the resolution of welcoming the Raja was entrusted, spoke of him in glowing terms. The following is an extract from his speech :—
“I recollect some writers have indulged themselves with inquiring, what they should feel if any of those time-honoured men whose names have lived through the vicissitudes of ages, should appear among them. They have endeavoured to imagine, what should be their sensations if a Plato or a Socrates, a Milton or a Newton, were unexpectedly to honour them with their presence. I recollect that a poet, who has well been called divine, has drawn a beautiful picture of the feelings of those who first visited the Southern hemisphere, and there saw, for the first time, that beautiful constellation, the Golden Cross. It was with feelings such as they underwent, that I was overwhelmed when I stretched out in your name the hand of welcome to the Raja Ram Mohun Roy.” This resolution of welcome was seconded by Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard University, United States. In doing so, he said that

the Raja was an object of lively interest in America, and that he was expected there with the greatest anxiety. Revd. Robert Aspland, the Chairman, then suggested that the assembly should rise in unanimous approbation of the object of the meeting, and the members rose and carried the resolution by acclamation. The Raja thanked the meeting for the honour done to him in the following words :—

“I am too unwell and too much exhausted to take any active part in this meeting ; but I am much indebted to Dr. Kirkland and Dr. Bowring for the honour they have conferred on me by calling me their fellow-labourer, and to you for admitting me to this Society as a brother, and one of your fellow-labourers. I am not sensible that I have done anything to deserve being called a promoter of this cause ; but with respect to your faith I may observe, that I too believe in the one God, and that I believe in almost all the doctrines that you do : but I do this for my own salvation and for my own

peace. For the objects of your Society I must confess that I have done very little to entitle me to your gratitude or such admiration of my conduct. What have I done ?—I do not know what have I done !—If I have ever rendered you any services, they must be very trifling—very trifling, I am sure. I laboured under many disadvantages. In the first instance, the Hindus and the Brahmins, to whom I am related, are all hostile to the cause, and even many Christians there are more hostile to our common cause than the Hindus and the Brahmins. I have honour for the appellation of Christians : but they always tried to throw difficulties and obstacles in the way of the principles of Unitarian Christianity. I have found some of these here ; but more there. They abhor the notion of simple precepts. They always lay a stress on mystery and mystical points, which serve to delude their followers ; and the consequence is, that we meet with such opposition in India that our progress is very slight ; and I feel ashamed

on my side that I have not made any progress that might have placed me on a footing with my fellow-labourers in this part of the globe. However, if this is the true system of Christianity, it will prevail, notwithstanding all the opposition that may be made to it. Scripture seconds your system of religion, common sense is also on your side ; while power and prejudice are on the side of your opponents. There is a battle going on between reason, scripture and common sense ; and wealth, power and prejudice. These three have been struggling with the other three ; but I am convinced that your success, sooner or later, is certain. I feel over exhausted, and therefore conclude with an expression of my heartfelt thanks for the honour that from time to time you have conferred on me, and which I shall never forget to the last moment of my existence."

The Last Days.

Raja Ram Mohun Roy arrived at Stapleton Grove, near Bristol, early in the month of September, 1833, accompanied by Miss Hare, the niece of his late highly esteemed friend Mr. David Hare, of Calcutta. Stapleton Grove is an agreeable and commodious mansion. It belonged to Miss Castle, a Bristol merchant and one of Dr. Carpenter's congregation. The Raja was undoubtedly very glad of the quiet of a country life, after his exciting life in London. Miss Castle and Miss Kiddle also esteemed it a privilege to do all in their power to render his stay there agreeable.

Almost every day, the Raja had friendly intercourse with Dr. Carpenter, either at Stapleton Grove or at Dr. Carpenter's place. It is needless to mention here that Dr. Carpenter's closer acquaintance with the illustrious Raja tended only to increase the affection, admiration, and respect, already felt for him.

In the house of prayer where Dr. Carpenter officiated, Lewin's Mead Chapel, the Raja worshipped on two successive Sundays, the last he was to spend on earth in public religious services.

The work of the Hindu reformer had been known in Bristol, and about eight years before, his services in the cause of philanthropy and religion had been in an especial manner brought forward to this congregation, when an appeal was made to it,—one answered with even more than its wonted liberality,—to assist in the establishment of Unitarian worship in the capital of British India.

His appearance, then, in Lewin's Mead Chapel was warmly welcomed, and is remembered by many with deep interest. He intended visiting other places of worship, as he had done in London, his spirit being truly catholic.

Several persons well known in the literary world took the opportunity of conversing with the Raja. The celebrated essayist,

John Foster, occupied a house adjoining Stapleton Grove, which he rented from Miss Castle. Mention is made of his interviews with the distinguished stranger in the *Life and Correspondence* of that eminent man.

Even in cases where there had been a prejudice against the Raja, though we can not suppose that there could have been many of these, his personal influence soon removed it. This is remarkably shown in a letter of Mr. Foster's to a friend, dated October 8, 1833 :—

“ I had entertained a strong prepossession against him (the Raja), had no wish to see him, but could not avoid it, when he was come to the house of our young land-lady, Miss Castle. My prejudice could not hold out half an hour after being in his company. He was a very pleasing and interesting man; intelligent and largely informed, I need not say—but unaffected, friendly, and, in the best sense of the word, polite. I passed two evenings in his company, only, however, as a unit in large parties; the

latter time, however, in particular and direct conversation with him, concerning some of the doctrines of the Indian philosophers, the political, civil, and moral state of the Hindus."

A large party was invited to meet the Raja at Stapleton Grove, on the 11th of September. Of this Dr. Carpenter says :—

" In the conversation at Stapleton Grove, were men fully competent to judge of intellectual power : and one and all admired and were delighted by the clearness, the closeness, and the acuteness of his arguments, and the beautiful tone of his mind. In the second of the two conversations at which Mr. Foster was present, the Raja continued for three hours, standing the whole time, replying to all the inquiries and observations that were made by a number of gentlemen who surrounded him, on the moral and political state and prospects of India, and on an elucidation at great length of certain dogmas of the Indian philosophers. Admiring respect was, I may say the sentiment of all present."

The following extracts from the private journals of Mr. Estlin describe the last scenes of the life of Ram Mohun Roy :—

“Bristol, Thursday, September 12th, 1833.—I slept here. We had much interesting conversation at breakfast. I gave Ram Mohun Roy some account of the West Indian Negroes. He was not prepared for the statements I made, his knowledge being derived from the missionaries chiefly. Miss Kiddle, Miss Castle, the Raja, and I, came into Bristol in their carriage. They called at 47, Park Street, for the Raja to see my bees, with which he was much pleased.

Friday, 13th.—Saw patients at two, and at four went to Frenchay; there was a dinner party; the Raja, Miss Kiddle, Miss Castle, Dr. Jerrard, Mr. Curry of Dublin, Mr. Bruce, J. Coates, &c, &c.; conversation on politics. Ram Mohun Roy attacked the Whig party for their mode of carrying the Reform question.

Saturday, 14th.—I went to Stapleton Grove, and there met Dr. Carpenter. We

had pleasant conversation with the Raja, and dined there.

Sunday, 15th.—Miss Kiddle's carriage, with the Raja, took Mary and met us on our way to Chapel. I gave him Dr. Prichard's work (on "The Physical History of Man"), which I had borrowed of the Doctor for Ram Mohun Roy's perusal.

Tuesday, 17.—My mother went in the evening to spend a day or two at Stapleton Grove, to meet Ram Mohun Roy.

Thursday, 19th.—I rode over to Stapleton to see my mother, &c. Found the Raja ill, in fever; he saw me very willingly, and I prescribed for him. Called at Mr. Bright's country-house to put off going to Ham Green; and at eight the Raja's carriage came for me. I found him a little better, but still feverish. Mr. John Hare and Miss Hare, with whom Ram Mohun Roy lives, were there. I slept there.

Friday, 20th.—The Raja no better. I came home by two in the Raja's carriage; went out again to dinner. The Raja had

headache coming on, but it subsided on the effect of medicine. He slept in the evening, but with his eyes much open. On awaking about eleven, I found his extremities very cold and his pulse 130 and weak, with the appearance of collapse. Warm liquids and a little wine, and external warmth, relieved him, but his restlessness, changing from the bed to the sofa on the ground, was very great. I begged to-day he would allow Miss Hare to attend him constantly. He said it would be very improper. I assured him the customs in this country rendered it quite proper, and she was admitted. I had her called up after she had gone to bed, to stay up with the Raja. He seems much gratified with my services, and glad for me to sleep here. I felt very anxious about him to-night, and told my mother I should propose Prichard's seeing him tomorrow if he were not better. •

Saturday, 21st.—Miss Hare sat up with the Raja, and informed me in the night how he went on. I saw him early; his pulse

was better, and himself altogether improved ; tongue no better. Miss Kiddle proposed Dr. Prichard should see him, to which I cheerfully assented. Went into Bristol ; saw some patients at two, and went out to Stapleton with Prichard to dine at five. I did not tell the Raja of Prichard's visit until he was in the house. The Raja expressed his satisfaction, and told me after how much Prichard's countenance indicated talent. Mr. Hare met us here, and highly approved of Prichard's coming. I went to bed at eleven. Miss Hare sat up again.

Sunday, 22nd.—The Raja was very restless till towards morning, when he slept with his eyes much open. Prichard came at half-past eleven ; I went in with him, but returned at three. Mr. Hare came out also. In the evening the Raja was better, and I was in more spirits about him. He said while Prichard, Mr. Hare, and I were with him, that if he were to die, he had the satisfaction of knowing he had the best advice in Bristol. Mary and my mother

went into meeting in Miss Castle's carriage and returned. Miss Hare's attention to the Raja is most watchful and unwearied ; she has great influence with him, making him take his medicine much better than I could. He is evidently much attached to her, and her regard for him seems quite filial.

Monday, 23rd.—I rose a little before five. The Raja had passed a restless night, having only interrupted sleep with his eyes open. He was much oppressed all day, taking but little notice as usually, and yet perfectly collected when roused. I became more apprehensive of the event, but still am inclined to regard his recovery as probable as his death. Miss Hare spoke in the morning of more advice. I urged it also ; Mr. Hare, though on his own account he did not wish it, considered it proper in the case of so well-known and distinguished an individual ; and principally on his suggestion Dr. Carrick was called in. He came with Prichard in the evening. The head appearing the organ most affected, leeches were

off and cold water applied to the head. After the spasms subsided, he appeared to sleep, the eyes still open, pupils small ; the left arm and leg appeared paralysed. We settled to have Dr. Bernard in the evening. I staid here all day, and am getting very apprehensive about the event. In the afternoon he became much warmer, and the pulse a little stronger, but spasms came on again about half-past six. He has swallowed with too great difficulty for many hours to allow of any quantity of nourishment, and he has been but little sensible since the morning, when he gave me his last look of recognition and thankfulness. Dr. Bernard could not come—it was useless. Prichard and Carrick left the Raja in a dying state. No body went to bed before twelve. Miss Kiddle was very much with the Raja ; Miss Castle occasionally ; Miss Hare, Mr. John Hare and Rajaram, seldom out of the room ; my mother looked in now and then.

Friday, 27th.—The Raja became worse every few minutes, his breathing more

rattling and impeded, his pulse imperceptible. He moved about his right arm constantly, and his left a little a few hours before his death. It was a beautiful moon light night ; on one side of the window, as Mr. Hare, Miss Kiddle and I looked out of it, was the calm rural midnight scene ; on the other, this extraordinary man dying. I shall never forget the moment. Miss Hare, now hopeless and overcome, could not summon courage to hand over the dying Raja, as she did while soothing or feeding him. Her hope had left her, and remained sobbing in a chair near ; young Raja was generally holding his hand. I doubt if he knew any since morn yesterday. About half past one, to please Miss Kiddle, as life was fast ebbing from our admired friend, and nothing but watching the last breath remained for those around, I lay* down on my bed with my clothes on. At half-past two Mr. Hare came to my room, and told me it was all over ; Ram Rotun was holding the Raja's chin, kneeling by him ; Miss Hare, young

Raja, Miss Kiddle, Mr. Hare, my mother, Miss Castle, Ram Hurry and one or two servants were there also ; his last breath had been drawn at twenty-five minutes past two a. m. During his last few moments Ram Rotun, who is a Brahmin, on Mr. Hare desiring him to observe any custom usual among the Brahmins, said some prayer in Hisdustanee.* When the ladies had retired, we laid the body straight on the mattress, and covered with the Hindu servants. About half-past three or four we all left the room, some of the servants sitting up in the adjoining room. I went to bed, but not to much sleep, the event of the night being too distressing. Our breakfast party was a melancholy one. Miss Hare remained in bed. Pugh, Marble Mason, came out with an Italian and took a cast of the Raja's head and face. Mr. J. Hare and I went into Bristol, and made arrangements about the examination to-morrow. Dr. Carpenter came out to us in the morning. We were all of us

* This should be Sanskrit.

much in the room to-day with the body, which had a beautiful majestic look. The event is a stunning one to us."

The Raja repeatedly acknowledged, during his illness, his sense of the kindness of all around him, and in strong language expressed the confidence he felt in his medical advisers. It was a source of gratification to the friends with whom he resided in London, to find that, distressing as the event was to the family he was visiting, he had every comfort and accommodation, that a large house, a quiet and healthy situation, and attached and affluent friends could bestow.

He conversed very little during his illness, but was observed to be often engaged in prayer. He told Rajaram and those around him that he should not recover.

An examination of the body took place on Saturday, when the brain was found to be inflamed, containing some fluid and covered with a kind of purulent effusion: its membranes also adhered to the skull, the result,

probably, of previously existing disease : the thoracic and abdominal viscera were healthy. The case appeared to be one of fever, producing great prostration of the vital powers, and accompanied by inflammation of the brain, which did not exhibit, in their usual degree, the symptoms of that affection.

The Raja had repeatedly expressed the wish that, in case of his dying in England, a small piece of freehold ground might be purchased for his burying-place, and a cottage be built on it for the gratuitous residence of some respectable poor person, to take charge of it. Every difficulty, however, was removed by the offer of Miss Castle, in which she had the warm accordance of all her intimate friends, to appropriate to the object a beautifully adapted spot, in a shrubbery near her lawn, and under some fine elms. There his revered and beloved person was interred, on the 18th of October, about two p. m. The coffin was borne on men's shoulders, without a pall, and deposited in the grave, without any ritual, and in silence.

Everything conspired to give an impressive and affecting solemnity to the obsequies. Those who followed him to the grave, and sorrowed there, were Rajaram, his two native servants, the members of the families of Stapleton Grove and Bedford Square, the guardians of Miss Castle and two of her nearest relatives, Mr. Estlin, Mr. Foster, and Dr. Jerrard, together with several ladies connected with those already enumerated ; and as there could be no regular entry of the interment in any official registers, those who witnessed it signed several copies of a record drawn up for the purpose, in case such a document should be needed for any legal purposes.

TRAITS OF THE RAJA'S CHARACTER.

While in England, not a day passed in which the Raja was not doing something for his country. He published many of his tracts and essays, and earnestly pleaded the

cause of his country before all he came in contact with, and his motherland was never absent from his prayers. Thus working incessantly for his dear country, he was struck down by the hand of death on the 27th of September, 1833, in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

The Raja's life reveals the following traits of character, which are fit to be borne in mind by all of us.

First, his spirituality. Just think of the times and the splendid opportunities that the times offered for growing rich. The British rule was then on its trial : our British masters were mostly ignorant of the ways and habits of those they had to deal with, and of the secret resources of the country ; consequently they were groping in the dark as regards the work of administration, and had to rely almost wholly upon their Indian assistants. This state of chaos and ignorance gave a good opportunity to the ambitious few among the higher class Indians to aggrandise themselves by robbing both their

English masters on the one hand and their countrymen on the other. Those were days of constant surprises in the shape of sudden fortunes. Many of Ram Mohun Roy's contemporaries rose from the humblest paths of life to colossal wealth. Could he not do the same? Were not opportunities thrown at his feet? Had he not the qualifications for successfully using those opportunities? What other Indian of his time was half so intelligent, half so learned, half so influential? A word of recommendation from him conferred high posts on men. He secured a high post for Mr. Dwarkanath Tagore, which made the latter a prince amongst his countrymen. Yet Ram Mohun Roy in Calcutta was a quiet, industrious and poor reformer, fighting single-handed for the good of his country. He turned his back upon wealth and its attractions. The paths that led others to riches did not suit him. He loved to lead men to religion, to the contemplation of the one true God. Like a true prophet he viewed the inevitable destruction to which old

institutions were doomed in the future, and he stretched forth his hand to hold fast the ancient spirituality of his race, before it was carried down by the torrent. It was he who strove most to open the door for western ideas, it was also he who earnestly struggled to revive the old spirituality of his race. There lay his originality—the singularity of his genius.

Many anecdotes are extant about him, which go to prove that his heart was as soft as his head was powerful. As his orthodox neighbours carried their idols to the river, on the last day of the *Dusserah* festival, with pomp and *eclat*, he was observed shedding tears at the thought of the universality and grandeur of the faith he cherished within his bosom. In England the service of the Unitarian Churches often brought tears into his eyes, to think of the idolatry and superstition in which his countrymen were at the time steeped. He always, it is said, disparaged Godless education and often expressed his sorrow over the atheism of the first generation

of educated Indians issuing from the Hindu College. Accordingly, when Dr. Duff arrived in this country in 1830 and wanted to found an institution where religious education would be combined with secular education, he entered heart and soul into the project, secured a house for him, sent him the first half a dozen of pupils, and was present on the day of opening, and thence-forward regularly visited the school every day as long as he was in this country. All these tend to show the intense spirituality of his nature.

Next after spirituality, was the great liberality of his mind. The Trust-deed* of the Btahmo Samaj is a standing monument of his catholicity. Here also his originality was quite striking! Born at a time when the Hindus regarded all foreigners as *Mlechchhas* and considered the shastras and the offices of religion as the exclusive privilege of the higher castes, when the Mahomedans looked upon all who did not agree with them as

* *Vide* Appendix E.

Kafirs and had supreme contempt for them, when the Christians poured bitter contempt upon all the superstitions of the Hindus and regarded them as little removed from savages, —born at such a time and living amid such influences, he could yet write in his Trust-deed that his house of worship was intended for “all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious and devout manner, for the worship and adoration of the eternal, unsearchable, and immutable Being who is the author and preserver of the universe.”

His liberality is also manifest in the courteous manner in which he replies to the most savage attacks of his adversaries, making appreciative mention of their worth and attainments. He paid equal respect to the religious faith of all sects, freely quoted from all scriptures, and laid it down as a guiding principle of his own church not to ridicule or malign any sect or any scripture. This fact also marks him out as an

original character who far surpassed all his contemporaries.

The third noticeable feature in the character of Ram Mohun Roy is the comprehensiveness of his religious life. He was anxious to revive the old spirituality of his race, but did not fall into the ancient errors about the modes in which that spirituality was to be cultivated. The most furious contests between the Saktas and the Vaishnavas were prevalent in his time—and they raged around his cradle, so to say, for these religious differences, it is said, often disturbed the peace and amity of his own family and that of his maternal grandfather. But the great reformer, though striving hard to maintain the spirituality of his race, and holding up to them the best models of piety and morality that were within his reach, carefully avoided the excesses of the older forms of faith. The formalism of the Saktas and the mysticism of the Vaishnavas were equally unattractive to him. He not only strove to give his countrymen a religion, but also a

new type of piety. He taught them, himself setting an example in practical life, that to love God and to do the works he loves is true piety. His love of God was simple, unostentatious and child-like. He never claimed "prophetic visions or perennial inspirations," but he loved God in his humble way, and was glad to spend and to be spent in what he regarded as His service.

Many little anecdotes are told of his unostentatious love of God. In „England, he gave out that Dr. Watt's hymns for children were his favourite hymns. 'It was a common practice with the Raja,' says Dr. Carpenter, 'as he went to public worship, to read some of Dr. Watt's hymns for children ; and he frequently dwelt with great and earnest interest on the verse,

‘ Lord ! how delightful ’tis to see
A whole assembly worship thee :
At once they sing, at once they pray ;
They hear of heaven and learn the way.’”

How naturally pious the heart of that man must have been, who could find a fund

of spiritual enjoyment in repeating hymns intended for little children !

His conception of the service of God was also characteristic. Though he was a theological combatant of a very high order, he did not make the study of theology his exclusive occupation. There was no question of national importance in which he did not take an active interest. The times also offered him splendid opportunities for exercising the vast powers of his mind in all these questions. He was an indefatigable worker in several fields of activity. He published tract after tract exposing the evils of idolatry, and advocating the necessity of worshipping the one true God. He fought hard, with the whole orthodox Hindu community ranged against him, for the suppression of the cruel custom of *suttee* ; he vindicated the rights of females ; he exposed the horrors of polygamy ; he got up agitations and sent up memorials for defending the political rights of his countrymen ; he strove for the introduction of English education into this

country ; and he laid the foundations of modern Bengali literature. All this was included within his conception of the service of God. What a grand ideal this for the members of the Brahmo Samaj !

The fourth feature is his great trust in God. By his theological and social controversies he raised enemies amongst all classes of men. The Hindus shunned him as a reptile, opposed all his movements, and daily poured abuse on his devoted head. The Christian missionaries were made his bitter enemies on account of his exposure of the fallacies of their Trinitarian faith and the Orientalists among English scholars, men like Dr. H. H. Wilson for instance, became his enemies owing to his spirited protest against their policy. So he was left almost single-handed to carry the arduous work of reform he had undertaken. Yet ~~his~~ courage and strength did not fail him even for a single day to the moment of his death. Periods of despondency, when their hearts sank within them, and the chilling shadows of doubts

were cast over their minds, have been known in the lives of many great men ; but they are singularly absent from the life of Ram Mohun Roy. Not a single fragment of any trustworthy record, nor even a whisper exists that can suggest that his courage or his hopes deserted him even for one day. Where are we to look for the secret of this abiding faith in the good, this unfaltering and unabated hopefulness ? His works furnished the reply to this question. In the preface to the translation of an abridgment of the Vedanta he says :—‘ By taking the path which conscience and sincerity direct, I, born a Brahmin, have exposed myself to the complainings and reproaches even of some of my relations, whose prejudices are strong, and whose temporal advantage depends upon the present system. But these, however accumulated, I can tranquilly bear, trusting, that a day will arrive when my humble endeavours will be viewed with justice—perhaps, acknowledged with gratitude. At any rate, whatever men may say, I cannot be deprived

of this consolation that my motives are acceptable to that Being who beholds in secret and compensates openly.' In a short autobiographical sketch he writes :—' Availing myself of the art of printing, now established in India, I published various works and pamphlets against their errors, in the native and foreign languages. This raised such a feeling against me, that I was at last deserted by every person except two or three Scotch friends.' Yet his heart did not fail him even for a single day, and of this his strong faith in God offers the explanation.

His self-sacrifice was proportionate to the earnestness of his faith. He came to Calcutta in the year 1814, with a moderate fortune, sufficient to keep him in comfort during the rest of his life ; but within a few years he brought himself down to poverty by publishing and circulating, free ~~of~~ charge, his numerous tracts, and also by largely supporting the movements with which he was connected. By 1830 he had brought himself into such a state, that he could not proceed

to England until he succeeded in securing the assistance of the Emperor of Delhi. In England too, he had fallen into debts, the worry consequent upon which, according to Dr. Wilson, might have hastened his premature death.

His love for his own country was also remarkable. What other man fought so hard at that time for the rights and privileges of his countrymen ? All his labours in connection with the introduction of English education, the development of Bengali literature, and the suppression of the *suttee* were mainly supported by his great love for his own country and countrymen.

But he also gave other practical proofs of his patriotism. He fought strenuously for the freedom of the press in behalf of his countrymen. The petition, advocating such freedom, that he sent to the King of England, is a masterly production, yet unsurpassed by anything that has been up to this time advanced in that line. While in England, he urged upon the rulers the necessity of

employing a large number of natives in the public service, of the separation of the Judicial and Executive services and of fixing 23 as the maximum age of the Civil Service candidates. In his writings, he always defended his countrymen against the ungenerous and unjust attacks of foreigners.

His love of liberty was very great. Of everything that lowered the dignity of the human mind he was a sworn enemy. It was this fundamental impulse that led him to protest against the rules that ostracised the Sudras from the knowledge of the shastras and also against that social tyranny which embittered, in so many different ways, the lives of Indian women. At the time of the 'French Revolution' he was observed to be deeply sympathising with the cause of liberty, and he gave a public dinner in the Town Hall of Calcutta when a Constitutional form of Government was established in Spain.

But the grace that crowned all his qualities was his natural and unaffected humility. All who knew him in life represent him to

have been remarkable for his humility. His modesty went so far, that on one occasion, when he found the late Mr. Dwarkanath Tagore, one of his closest friends, guilty of violating a rule of the congregation of the Brahmo Samaj, he had to seek the assistance of another friend, for the purpose of reminding Mr. Tagore of the violated rule. In many cases his modesty amounted to bashfulness. He constantly made others read out his sermons, published many of his tracts in the names of his disciples, and those of his pamphlets that he published anonymously in Bengali he signed as 'one repentant for not being able to practise all he professes.' Was not that remarkable?—the greatest man of the time publicly introducing himself as one repentant for not being able to practise all he professed! Such was his humility. Such was the man whom our countrymen have not yet fitly honoured.

ANECDOTES.

Many interesting anecdotes are extant about the Raja and a few of them are given below. The first is from the pen of Mr. Recorder Hill :—

‘I only met the Raja Ram Mohun Roy once in my life. It was at a dinner party given by Dr. Arnott. One of the guests was Robert Owen, who evinced a strong desire to bring over the Raja to his socialistic opinions. He persevered with great earnestness ; but the Raja, who seemed well acquainted with the subject, and who spoke our language in marvellous perfection, answered his arguments with consummate skill, until Robert somewhat lost his temper, a very rare occurrence which I never witnessed before. The defeat of the kind-hearted philanthropist was accomplished with great suavity on the part of his opponent.”

The next is from an estimable lady who had the privilege of his acquaintance, and who was herself called from this world but

a few weeks after she had penned the following note to Miss Mary Carpenter :—

‘Few things could give me more pleasure than to assist you (in my humble way) in doing honour to our venerated friend Raja Ram Mohun Roy, but I am so miserably enfeebled by illness as to be incapable of looking over books and papers in research. I can, however, trust my memory for a little anecdote, to which yours will readily supply his courteous graceful manner.

At a small evening party at my house in Grenville Street, principally to meet the Raja, he referred to the doctrine of original sin, in a way that startled a lady of the low church, a very charming and amiable woman, who had brought her daughter. ‘But surely, sir,’ she exclaimed, ‘you do believe in original sin?’ He looked at her, and she blushed deeply. After a minute, he seemed to comprehend the whole, and very gently inclining, he said, ‘I believe it is a doctrine which, in many well-regulated minds, has tended to promote humility, the first of Christian

virtues ; for my own part, I have never been able to see the evidence of it.'

'The next morning my sweet friend called to apologise for what she had said, and added that she had never seen or heard anything so beautiful as this in society.'

During his residence in London, the Raja placed Rajaram under the care of the late Rev. D. Davison, M.A., and frequently communicated with that gentleman respecting the progress of the youth. He won the high esteem of the family by his most kind and courteous manners. His kindly sympathy was manifested by his being present at the christening of an infant born at the period, and bestowing on him his own name, " Ram Mohun Roy." In this child he took a warm interest.

' His visits to *me*,' writes Mrs. Davison, ' were generally paid to me in my *nursery*, as he insisted on coming up, so as to visit his *namesake* at the same time, and not to interrupt me. For surely never was there a man of so much modesty and humility ! I

used to feel quite ashamed of the reverential manner in which he behaved to me. Had I been our queen I could not have been approached and taken leave of with more respect. I was greatly struck with one thing which occurred. He called, and as he could not see me nor the boy for a little while, he waited, saying 'He would like to see the child once more.' This was just before leaving town for Miss Castle's, where he died.'

There is an interesting story told by Mr. William Adam in his lecture on Ram Mohun Roy which he gave many years ago in America, and which has lately been published in Calcutta. Dr. Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta, thought it his duty to endeavour to convert Ram Mohun Roy to Christianity, and in doing so, he dwelt not only on the truth and excellence of his own religion, but spoke of the honour and repute the influence and usefulness he would acquire by becoming the apostle of India. Ram Mohun Roy expressed his bitter indignation that he should have been deemed

capable of being influenced by any consideration but the love of truth and goodness, and he never afterwards visited the Bishop again.

The same Rev. Mr. William Adam came to India as a Trinitarian Christian missionary and formed an acquaintance with the Raja in order to convert him to Christianity. But after a few days it was found that Mr. Adam, instead of converting the Raja to Trinitarianism, had himself renounced the same, and become a Unitarian through the influence of the Raja. This created a sensation among the Christians and they began to call Mr. Adam by the name of 'Second fallen Adam.'

It so happened that a certain Brahmin, becoming ill, lay prostrate before a goddess, and implored her help. The goddess, it is said, appeared to the Brahmin in a dream and said :—" If you partake of the residue of the food of a certain old man of your village *Teli* (oil man) by caste, you will be cured." The Brahmin was in difficulty. He could

not take the polluted food of a *Teli* without losing his caste. He resorted to the eminent *pandits* of the time, but none could give him any sound advice. At last, he came to Ram Mohun Roy. Ram Mohun Roy enquired of the Brahmin whether he was a man of wealth. He was asked whether the *Teli* alluded to would comply with any request he might have occasion to make. The Brahmin answered in the affirmative. Ram Mohun Roy then told the Brahmin to go to *Jagunnath** in Orissa with the *Teli* and there partake of the food of the latter.

Kalinath Munshi, a famous Zemindar of Taki, had a great regard for the Raja; and he used to take his advice in several matters. On a certain occasion, a pretender came to Munshi Kalinath to sell a conch shell. This shell, said he, had a peculiar property. The possessor of it would never feel any want.

* *Jagunnath's prosad*, i.e., an offering made to *Jagunnath*, retains its sanctity even if touched by a Pariah, and a Brahmin can partake of it without losing caste. This is allowed only within the precincts of the temple.

The goddess of wealth would dwell in his house always. On hearing this, Kalinath Munshi was resolved to buy it; and Rupees 500 was fixed as its price. The Zemindar then went with the dealer to the Raja and related the matter to him in great glee, asking at the same time his opinion about it. The Raja then spoke to the Zemindar to the following effect :—

What greater bargain can be made if the goddess of wealth, the want of whose favour has filled the whole world with cries of sorrow, and who is the family deity of every one, could be purchased and secured in the house for ever in consideration of Rupees 500 only ! But the question is, why should the dealer part with such an inestimable thing for this paltry sum ? Why should he not himself keep it in his own possession, so that, the goddess of wealth may dwell in his house for ever and supply all his wants ? Is then 500 rupees worth more than the goddess herself ? The Zemindar on hearing all this came to his sense, and without utter-

ing a single word in reply, told the dealer that the shell was not wanted by him.

Ram Mohun Roy had a flower garden attached to his house in Calcutta, and a Brahmin used to come every day to pluck flowers for the worship of his deity. One day, the Brahmin, after putting his wrapper on the trunk of a tree, began to pluck flowers. In the mean time, a certain person by way of jest, took away the wrapper unnoticed. The Brahmin after taking the flowers was about to go home, when to his great surprise he missed the wrapper, and began to give vent to his sorrow in a loud tone. Ram Mohun Roy heard this from the inner apartment, and on enquiry learned all that had happened. He then went to the Brahmin, and accosting him in soothing words, said—*Dabota* ! (দেবতা) don't be so impatient, you have lost one, you will get one. So saying Ram Mohun Roy began to speak with him on various subjects. In the meantime, he gave a hint to one of the men standing near him to bring back the wrapper. The

wrapper was brought, and Ram Mohun Roy in making it over to him said—Are you now satisfied? The Brahmin replied—I have received back my own thing, why should I be pleased? Ram Mohun Roy rejoined saying—Whose flowers are these? The Brahmin said—God's. To whom will you give them? To God. Then why will God be pleased with the flowers that belong to him? The Brahmin kept quiet, not being able to give any reply.

Ram Mohun Roy's powers of argumentation were very great. Mr. Anderson, of the firm of Messrs. Colvin and Co., once said to a Bengali gentleman that, at his house conferences used to take place frequently between Ram Mohun Roy and the learned European gentlemen of the time, and he heard the latter invariably saying at the close of the argumentation.—“We will think over the matter.”

Ram Mohun Roy's memory and power of comprehension were also very great. On a certain occasion, a *pandit* came to him and

expressed a desire of arguing with him in connection with a certain *Tantra*. Ram Mohun Roy had never read the book. He requested the *pandit* to come to him the next day at the same hour. After the departure of the *pandit*, Ram Mohun Roy brought a copy of the *Tantra* from the Sova Bazar Raj family, and devoted himself to its study with undivided attention. Within this short time, he not only read the whole book but mastered its contents thoroughly. The *pandit* came at the prescribed time, and a hard fight took place between him and the Raja. The points raised by the *pandit* were pulled to pieces by Ram Mohun Roy. The *pandit* then returned home discomfited, acknowledging the vast learning and argumentative power of his opponent.

On another occasion, Ram Mohun Roy succeeded in bringing over a *pandit* to his own opinions about religion :—

A staunch Brahmin of the orthodox class known to Mr. Dwarka Nath Tagore, once represented to him his want of flowers for the

worship of his God. Dwarka Nath Tagore requested him to go to Ram Mohun Roy's garden, where he could always get a good supply. The Brahmin said in great rage—"He is a great sinner, and do you wish me to go to that man's garden?" Mr. Tagore, however, succeeded in inducing the Brahmin to go to the flower garden. Excepting a particular portion of the garden, everyone had free access to it. The Brahmin, notwithstanding this injunction, began to pluck flowers from the plants standing on the forbidden spot. On the watchman requesting him not to do so, the Brahmin in a rage said—"Instead of becoming thankful for the condescension on the part of a superior Brahmin like me in placing his feet on the garden of a vile sinner, you are so audacious as to prevent him from plucking flowers? The" Raja hearing this from a certain distance came to the Brahmin and asked in soothing words, why he was angry with him, and what he had done that he should be considered irreligious. A great discussion then took place.

Both came forward with a long array of arguments. It is said that the controversy took up the whole day. It was carried on without cessation, and both were without any food. At last, the *pandit* was discomfited. Being convinced of the truth of Ram Mohun Roy's statements, he threw away his flower-basket and fell prostrate before the Raja addressing him as *Guru* or religious guide. The Raja then took the *pandit* over to his house and both dined together. The substance of this discussion was afterwards published.

ESTIMATION OF THE RAJA'S WORTH.

A man who is actuated by sincerity of purpose is sure to gain the approbation of persons of all creeds and nationalities. The value of a man of real worth is appreciated even by his opponents. The people of the West, as it were, vied with each other in paying their tribute to the memory of the Raja after his demise. The passage quoted below will shew with what regard and ve-

neration he was held by certain members of both the sexes. Miss Aikin thus wrote of him to Dr. Channing—" Scarcely any description can do justice to his admirable qualities, and the charms of his society, his extended knowledge, his comprehension of mind, his universal philanthropy, his tender humanity, his genuine dignity mixed with perfect courtesy and the most touching humility.....Considering the prejudices of birth and education with which he had to contend, his constant advocacy of the rights and interests of the weaker sex seems to me the very strongest proof of his moral and intellectual greatness."

Dr. Boutt, an American physician of London, thus wrote of the Raja in one of his letters to Mr. Estlin :—" To me he stood alone in the single majesty of, I had almost said, perfect humanity. No one in past history, or in present time ever came before my judgment clothed in such wisdom, grace and humanity. I know of no tendency even to error...He was the most liberal, the most

amiable, and the most candid of men. His generosity was unbounded, his most touching politeness was an instinct of his nature, it never left him to his most familiar associates.....His loss has given tenfold value in my mind to his writings, and I have studied them with a subdued feeling since his death, and risen from their perusal with a more confirmed conviction of his having been unequalled in past or present time. Peace to his sacred memory ! ” .

Among the several sermons preached in memory of the Raja, the following passage from one by the Rev. Mr. W. J. Fox will be read with interest :—

“ We shall see his face no more ! His presence has passed away as a poetic image fades from the brain ! But it has left impressions which will long endure ; influences of good, wide and deep, here, yet wider and deeper in the distant land of his nativity. And being dead, he yet speaketh with a voice to which not only India but Europe and America will listen for generations.”

Miss Mary Carpenter in her "The last days in England of the Raja Ram Mohun Roy" thus writes of him :—"It was indeed an appalling event,—a deeply affecting dispensation of Providence which so unexpectedly deprived India of her noble son, and the world of one of the most remarkable men which the century has produced."... Having watched him at a distance with high admiration, we had the privilege of receiving him into our homes and social circles ; we had seen him in the midst of the attractions of our capital, steadily keeping in view his great object of promoting the welfare of his country, and making the gratification of any private wishes yield to this."...The noble form of him in whom we had seen the embodiment of all that was good and lovable, and which had appeared likely to last for many long years, was laid low in death, even while the thought of him in apparent health and strength was fresh in our remembrance."

Nor are these all. The memory of the

Raja is cherished by the Protestant missionaries also. The late Dr. K. S. Macdonald, M.A., D.D., of the Free Church of Scotland read a paper on the life and character of the Raja at a public meeting held at Darjeeling in the year 1879. Alluding to the review made by Dr. Marshman of "The Precepts of Jesus" by Ram Mohun Roy, the Rev Dr. Macdonald says :—"This work met with a severe, and, I think on the whole, an unjust criticism from a quarter whence it might be least expected." The revered Missionary thus concludes his paper—"Altogether Raja Ram Mohun Roy was a great religious reformer, far in advance of his time, and his name should be held in loving remembrance by his countrymen and by all interested with the social and religious welfare of India. His memorial at present is not in stone or book nor yet on canvass, not much to the credit of the country which has the honour of his birth and which he so faithfully served. It is in the hearts of men fast passing away from among us, and in

few stray sketches of no pretensions found in the soon forgotten pages of pamphlets and periodicals."

In several instances, the private conduct of great men is dimmed by the lustre of their outward actions. But this cannot be said of Ram Mohun Roy. Dr. Carpenter has placed before the public the following testimony of the Hare family with whom the Raja resided in London in the closest intimacy and confidence :—

“Possessed of the Raja’s unbounded confidence, acquainted with all his movements and enabled to judge with complete accuracy of his habits and dispositions, the unhesitating and unequivocal testimony of this family, one and all, to the unvarying purity of his conduct and the refined delicacy of his sentiments, is as decisive as it is valuable. I had, myself, repeated opportunities of observing with what earnest respect he appreciated true delicacy in the female character : and I learn that, while he always maintained his habitual politeness to the sex and may

therefore have misled the superficial observer, he manifested a very prompt and clear discrimination as to individuals ; and that he commonly expressed strong dislike, and even disgust where they seemed to him to depart from that true modesty which is essential to its excellence."

The following particulars recorded by Mrs. Estlin will shew how the Raja passed his time.

"The Raja read the scriptures daily in Hebrew and Greek. Miss Hare often read them to him also ;—this was never omitted at night. He was also in a constant habit of prayer, and was not interrupted in this by her presence ; whether sitting or riding he was frequently in prayer. He told Miss. Hare that whenever an evil thought entered into his mind he prayed. She said, 'I do not believe you ever have an evil thought. He answered, 'O yes, we are all liable to evil thoughts."

Professor Max Muller says of the Raja in his "Biographical Essays :—"

“He had been brought up to worship the old Aryan gods, and he lived among a people most of whom had forgotten the original intention of their ancient gods, and had sunk into idolatry of the darkest hue.... Nothing is more sacred to a child than the objects which he sees his father worship, nothing clearer than the prayers which he has been taught by his mother to repeat with uplifted hands, long before he could repeat anything else. There is nothing so happy as the creed of childhood, nothing so difficult to part with ; and we do not suppose that idol-worship is more easily surrendered.

“ There was everything to induce Ram Mohun Roy to retain the religion of his fathers. It was an ancient religion, a national religion, and allowed an independent thinker greater freedom than almost any other religion.....Nothing would have been easier for him to do what so many of his countrymen, even the most enlightened, are still content to do,—to remain silent on doctrines which do not concern them ; to

shrug their shoulders at miracles and legends ; and to submit to observances which though distasteful to themselves, may be looked upon as possibly useful to others. With such an attitude towards religion, he might have led a happy, quiet, respectable, useful life and his conscience need not have smitten him more than it seems to have others. But he would not. He gave up idolatry. He was banished from his father's house once or twice ; he was insulted by his friends ;—his life was threatened, and even in the streets of Calcutta he had to walk about armed.

“ I have no doubt when Ram Mohun Roy muttered his last prayer and drew his last breath at Slapleton Grove, he knew that happen, what may, his work would live and idolatry would die.

“ The German name for prince is *Fürst*, in English *First*, he who is always to the fore, he who courts the place of danger, the first place in fight, the last in flight. Such a *Fürst* was Ram Mohun Roy, a true

prince, a real Raja, if Raja also like *Rex*, meant originally the steersman, the man at the helm."

The Christian College Magazine thus writes of the Raja :—

"As far as 1816, a Brahmin of extraordinary talents and learning, with a courage almost bordering on rashness, went about India denouncing in the most unqualified terms the idolatry of modern Hinduism, and proclaiming with an indomitable zeal the doctrine "that the Omnipotent God, who is the only proper object of religion, is One, and that he leads such as worship Him in spirit to righteous conduct and ultimate salvation." This person was no other than Raja Ram Mohun Roy one of the greatest religious reformers India has ever seen. But Ram Mohun Roy was not only a religious reformer, he was also the very first social reformer modern India has produced. He denounced the intolerant system of caste, the degrading custom of infant-marriage, and the horrid practice of *suttee* with the

same fervour and earnestness as he asserted the unity, spirituality, omnipresence and omnipotence of the Supreme Being. The noble exertions of Ram Mohun Roy to stop the then prevalent atrocity of sacrificing widows on the funeral piles of their husbands contributed largely to the speedy abolition of the practice, which took place in 1829. He was a warm advocate of female education. In one of his works relating to that subject there is a noble and eloquent passage in which ~~after~~ exposing particular instances of oppression of the female sex, he rises to the advocacy of such amelioration of their condition as would give the amplest scope and highest direction of their influence on the mind, the morals, and the happiness of the whole human race. The fortitude and the unyielding firmness with which Ram Mohun Roy espoused the cause of the poor widow martyrs exposed him to calumny, malignant hatred, and even persecution, but he was firm and prepared to sacrifice every thing to the glorious cause he had under-

taken to support ; and he triumphed. No person deserves the name of a reformer unless he is capable of high efforts of self-sacrifice."

The Bengalee, a leading Indian newspaper of the present day says :—

" It was on the 27th of September 1833 that Raja Ram Mohun Roy died, and although more than half a century has elapsed, no monument in marble or in brass commemorates the worth of the greatest Hindu of modern times. The circumstance is a deep reflection upon the national character for gratitude. While lesser celebrities have had their commemorative monuments, while our Town Hall is filled with pictures and busts, with but few exceptions, of magnificent nobodies, the great founder of the Brahmo Samaj, the first of our social and political reformers, the founder of our Bengali prose literature, the all-pervading inspirer of so many of our modern sentiments and aspirations remains unhonoured in the capital of his native Province. We

are under a heavy debt of national obligation which we have not yet discharged, and God knows how long it will take before that debt is discharged.....the Raja appears in the light of a sagacious and far-sighted political reformer. He propounds doctrines and principles, some of which have become watch-words in the mouths of modern political reformers. But they had been anticipated by the leader of Hindu thought half a century ago. If prescience is the test of political genius, Ram Mohun Roy possessed it in an eminent degree."

I shall conclude by quoting what Mr. Akshoy Kumar Dutt says of the Raja in his remarkable book on the religious sects of the Hindus. He says :—

“ধন্ত রামমোহন রায় ! সেই সময়ে তোমার সতেজ বুদ্ধি জ্যোতিঃ ষোরতর অজ্ঞানরূপ নিবিড় জলদ-রাশি বিদীর্ণ করিয়া এত দূর বিকীর্ণ হইয়াছিল এবং তৎসহকারে তোমার সুবিমল স্বচ্ছ চিত্ত যে নিজ দেশে ও নিজ সময়ে প্রচলিত সকল প্রকার কুসংস্কার নির্মূচন করিয়া পরিত্যাগ করিয়াছিল ইহা সামান্ত আশ্চর্য্য ও সামান্ত সাধুবাণের বিষয় নয়। তখন তোমার জ্ঞান ও ধর্মোৎসাহে উৎসাহিত হৃদয় জঙ্গলময় পঙ্কিল-ভূমি-পরিবেষ্টিত একটি অগ্নিময় আগ্নেয় গিরি ছিল ; তাহা হইতে পুণ্য-পবিত্র প্রচুর জ্ঞানান্নি সতেজে উৎক্ষিপ্ত হইয়া চতুর্দিকে বিক্ষিপ্ত হইতে থাকিত। তুমি বিজ্ঞানের অমূল্য পক্ষে যে সুগভীর বণবাদ্য বাদন করিয়া গিয়াছ, তাহাতে যেন এখনও আমাদের কর্ণকূহর ধ্বনিত করিতেছে। সেই অত্যন্ত গভীর তুর্ধ্যধ্বনি অতাপি বার বার প্রতিধ্বনিত হইয়া এই অযোগ্য দেশেও জয়-সাধন করিয়া আসিতেছে। তুমি স্বদেশ ও বিদেশ-বাণী ভ্রম ও কুসংস্কার সংহার উদ্দেশে আততান্নি-স্বরূপে বণ-হৃদয় বীরপুরুষের পরাক্রম প্রকাশ করিয়াছ, এবং বিচার-বুদ্ধে সকল বিপক্ষ পরাস্ত করিয়া নিঃসংশয়ে সম্যকরূপে জয়ী হইয়াছ। ॥তোমার উপাধি রাজা।

জড়ময় ভূমিখণ্ড তোমার রাজ্য নয়। তুমি একটি সুবিস্তার মনোরাজ্য অধিকার করিয়াছ। তোমার সমকালীন ও বিশেষতঃ উত্তরকালীন স্মৃষ্টি-বুদ্ধি শিক্ষিত সম্প্রদায় তোমাকে রাজ-মুকুট প্রদান করিয়া তোমার জয়-ধ্বনি করিয়া আসিতেছে। ॥বাহারী

আবহমান কাল হিন্দু জাতির মনোরাজ্যে নির্ব্বিবাদে রাজত্ব করিয়া

আসিয়াছেন, তুমি তাঁহাদিগকে পরাজয় করিয়াছ। অতএব তুমি রাজার রাজা ॥ তোমার জয়-পতাকা তাঁহাদেরই স্বাধিকার মধ্যে সেই যে উত্তোলিত হইয়াছে, আর পতিত হইল না; নিরস্ত একভাবেই উদ্ভীষ্যমান রহিয়াছে। ॥ পূর্বে যে ভারতবর্ষীয়েরা তোমাকে পরম শত্রু বলিয়া জানিতেন, তদীয় সন্তানেরা অনেকেই এখন তোমাকে পরম বন্ধু বলিয়া বিশ্বাস করিতেছেন তাহার সন্দেহ নাই। কেবল ভারতবর্ষীয়দের বন্ধু কেন, তুমি জগতের বন্ধু।

“এক দিকে জ্ঞান ও ধর্ম ভূষণে ভূষিত কারিয়া জয়-ভূমিকে উজ্জল করিবার যত্ন করিয়াছ, অপর দিকে সঙ্কটময় অগভীর সমুদ্র সমূহ উত্তরণ পূর্বক ব্রিটিশ রাজ্যের রাজধানীতে উপস্থিত হইয়া নানাবিষয়ে রাজ্যশাসন-প্রণালীর সংশোধন ও শুভ সাধনার্থ প্রাণপণে চেষ্টা পাইয়াছ। সে সময়ের পক্ষে এ কি কাণ্ড! কি ব্যাপার! স্বাভাবিক শক্তির এতই মহিমা! তুমি ইংলণ্ডে গিয়া অধিষ্ঠান করিলে, তথাকার অগণিত সাধু লোকে তোমার অসাধারণ গুণ-গ্রন্থ দর্শনে বিস্ময়াপন্ন হইয়া যান। তোমার সাক্ষাৎকার লাভ করিয়া, একবার তথাকার কোন সঙ্কন-সমাজে চমৎকার সম্মিলিত একরূপ একটি অপূর্বভাবে আবির্ভাব হয়, যেন সাক্ষাৎ প্লেটো, সক্রেটিস বা নিউটন ধরণীমণ্ডলে পুনরায় উপস্থিত হইলেন। তুমি আপন সময়ের অতীত বস্তু। কেবল সময়েরই কেন? আশান দেশেরও অতীত। ভারতবর্ষ তোমার যোগ্য নিবাস নয়। এক ব্যক্তি বলিয়া গিয়াছেন, একরূপ দেশে একরূপ লোকের জয়গ্রহণ অবনীমণ্ডলে আর কখনও ঘটিয়াছিল বোধ হয় না।

“সহমরণ নিবারণ, ব্রাহ্মধর্ম সংস্থাপন, স্বদেশীয় লোকের পদোন্নতিসাধন ইত্যাদি তোমার কত জয়ন্তন্ত ও কীর্তিস্তন্ত জাজ্ঞ্যমান রহিয়াছে। না জানি কি কল্যাণময়ী মহীয়সী কীর্তি সংস্থাপন উদ্দেশে অর্ধ ভূমণ্ডল অতিক্রম করিতে কৃত-সংকল্প ও প্রতিজ্ঞারূঢ় হইয়াছিলে। তাদৃশ স্বদূর-স্থিত ভূখণ্ড বাসী সুপ্রতিষ্ঠ সাধু লোকেও তোমার অসামান্য মহিমা জানিতে পারিয়া, প্রত্যাগমন পূর্বক তোমাকে সমাদর করিবার জন্য অতিমাত্র ব্যগ্র হইয়া ছিলেন। মনে মনে কতই শুভ সংকল্প সঞ্চারিত ও কতই দয়া-শ্রোত প্রবাহিত করিয়াছিলে। কিন্তু ভারতের কপাল মন্দ ! সে সমুদয় কর্মক্ষেত্রে আসিয়া আবিভূত হইল না।—ত্রিষ্টল্!—ত্রিষ্টল্! তুমি কি সর্বনাশই করিয়াছ! আমাদিগকে একেবারেই অনাথ ও অবসন্ন করিয়া রাখিয়াছ! বাহাতে অশেষরূপ অমৃত-স্বাদ ফলরাশি উৎপৎস্তমান হইয়াছিল, সেই অলোকসামান্য বৃক্ষ-মূলে সাজ্জাতিক কুঠার গ্রহণ করিয়াছ!

“সেই বিপদের দিন কি ভয়ঙ্কর দিনই গিয়াছে! আমাদের সেই দিনের স্বতাশৌচ অত্যাঁপ চলিতেছে ও চিরকালই চলিবে! সেই দিন ভারতরাজ্যের কল্যাণ-শিরে বজ্রাঘাত হইয়াছে! এদেশীয় নব্য সম্প্রদায়! সেই দিন তোমরা নিরাশ্রয় ও নিঃসহায় হইয়া বর্ণজিৎ শূন্য শিক্ সৈন্যের অবস্থায় পতিত হইয়াছ! হুঃখ-জীবী কৃষি-জীবগণ! যে সময়ে তোমরা স্বদেশ ও বিদেশের জন্য অপরিপাক্ত অন্ন প্রস্তুত করিয়াও নিজে স্বচ্ছন্দ মনে ও নিরঞ্জনমনে অত্যপকৃত তণ্ডুলগ্রাসও গ্রহণ করিতে পাও নাই, সেই সময়ে যিনি ঐ হুঃসহ হুঃখ-রাশি পরিহার করি, তোমাদের সমস্ত হৃদয় শীতল করিবার

জন্য ব্যাকুল ছিলেন, এবং তজ্জন্য বৃটিস রাজ্যের রাজধানীতে অধিষ্ঠান পূর্বক তোমাদের অজ্ঞাতসারে প্রত্যেক রাজপুরুষের নিকট স্বহস্তে লিখিয়া বিশেষরূপ কাতরতা প্রকাশ করেন, সেই দিনে তোমরা সেই করুণাময় আশ্রয়-ভূমির আশ্রয়-লাভে চিরদিনের মত বঞ্চিত হইয়াছ ! ভারতবর্ষীয় চির-নিগ্রহ-ভাজন অবলাগণ ! তোমাদের অশেষরূপ দুঃখ-বিমোচন ও বিশেষরূপ উন্নতি-সাধন যাহার অন্তঃকরণের একটি প্রধান সংকল্প ছিল, এবং যে হৃদয় বিদীর্ণ-কারী ব্যাপার স্বরণ হইলে শরীরের শোণিত শুষ্ক হইয়া হৃৎকম্প উপস্থিত হয়, যিনি নিতান্ত অঘাচিত ও অশেষরূপ নিগৃহীত হইয়াও তোমাদের সেই নিদারুণ আত্মঘাত-ব্যবস্থা ও তন্নিন্দন স্বজনবর্গের শোকসম্মাপ, আর্তনাদ ও অশ্রু-বারি সমস্তই নিবারণ পূর্বক ভারতমণ্ডলের মাতৃ-হীন অনাথ বালকের সংখ্যা হ্রাস করিয়া যান, সেই দিনে তোমরা সেই দয়াময় পরম বন্ধুকে হারাইয়াছ ! বিবিধ পীড়ায় প্রপীড়িত জননী ভারতভূমি ! যে আশা নরলোকের জীবন-স্বরূপ, সেই দিন তোমার সেই আশাবল্লী বুঝি নিমূল হইয়াছে !!

“পূর্বকৃতন শোক-সম্বাদ নবীভূত হইয়া উঠিল ! অশ্রু-জন নিবারণে একেবারেই অসমর্থ হইয়া পড়িতেছি । এসময়ে বিষয়ান্তর স্বরণ করিয়া উহা বিস্মৃত হওয়া আবশ্যক । একটি প্রবোধের বিষয়ও আছে । আমাদের রাজা একেবারে নির্দোষ হইবার মস্ত নিম । তিনি ভূ-লোক হইতে অন্তর্হিত হইয়াছেন, তথাচ চিরাবলম্বিত হিত-ব্রত উদ্যাপন করিয়া যান নাই । তদীয় সমাধি-ক্ষেত্র হইতে

কতবার কত পরম প্রচেষ্টা স্বপরিজ্ঞ মহানাদ বিনির্গত ও প্রতিধ্বনিত হইয়া কতই হিতোৎসাহ উদ্বীপন ও কতই শুভ সফল সম্পাদন করিয়া আসিয়াছে ! অতএব তিনি প্রাণত্যাগ করিয়াও আমাদেরকে পরিত্যাগ করেন নাই ; জীবৎ-কালের সদভিপ্রায়বলে ও নিজ চরিত্রের দৃষ্টান্ত প্রভাবে মৃত্যুর পরেও উপকার সাধন ও উপদেশ প্রদানপূর্বক আমাদের ভক্তি ও কৃতজ্ঞতা ভাজন হইয়া রহিয়াছেন । কেবল আমাদের নয়, ইউরোপ আমেরিকাও ভক্তি-শ্রদ্ধা সহকারে তাঁহাকে চিরস্মরণীয় করিয়া রাখিয়াছে ।

“তিনি জীবদ্দশায় স্বদেশীয় লোক কর্তৃক নিগৃহীত হইয়া প্রত্যাশা করিয়াছিলেন, উত্তরকালীন লোক তাঁহার নিকট কৃতজ্ঞ হইবে । কিন্তু একাল পর্য্যন্ত তাঁহার তাদৃশ কিছু দৃষ্টমান চিহ্ন প্রকাশ পায় নাই । ভাগ্যে সুবিখ্যাত দ্বারকানাথ ঠাকুর মহাশয় ইংলণ্ড ভূমিতে গমন করেন. তাই তাঁহার একটা রীতিমত সমাধি-মন্দির প্রস্তুত হয় । ভাল জারতবর্ষীয়গণ ! তোমরা তো মধ্যে মধ্যে ব্যক্তিবিশেষের স্মরণার্থ তদীয় প্রতিরূপাদি প্রস্তুত করিতে অগ্রসর হও, কিন্তু রামমোহন রায়ের একটা সর্বাবয়ব-সম্পন্ন প্রতিমূর্তি প্রস্তুত করাইয়া বেটিক্ মহোদয়ের দক্ষিণ হস্তের দিকে সংস্থাপন করিতে কি অভিলাষ হয় না ? স্বদেশীয় গ্রন্থকরগণ ! সবিশেষ অহুসঙ্কান পূর্বক তাঁহার একখানি সর্কাজ-সুন্দর জীবন-চরিত সঙ্কলন করিয়া স্বীয় লেখনী সার্থক ও পবিত্র করা এবং তদ্বারা তাঁহার ঋণের লক্ষাংশের একাংশ পরিশোধ করা কি অতিমাত্র উচিত বোধ হয় না ? আমরা কি অকৃতজ্ঞ ! কি নরাধম !

“আত্মবলিক কথা-প্রবাহ ক্রমশঃ বৃদ্ধি হইয়া পড়িয়াছে সত্য বটে, কিন্তু প্রিয়তম পাঠকগণ ! যিনি ভারতভূমির দুঃখহরণ ও শুভ সাধনার্থ প্রাণ, মন, ধন সমর্পণ করেন, “মানব-কুলের হিত-সাধন করাই পরমেশ্বরের যথার্থ উপাসনা” এই মহার্ঘবোধক পরম পবিত্র পাসিক বচনটি যিনি সতত আবৃত্তি করিয়া নিজ চরিতে নিরন্তর সম্যকরূপে তাহার দৃষ্টান্ত প্রদর্শন করেন, সেরূপ অসাধারণ বুদ্ধি, ক্ষমতা ও হিতৈষিতা গুণের একত্র সংযোগ ভূমণ্ডলে আর কখন ঘটিয়াছিল এমন বোধ হয় না, যিনি একাধারে সেইরূপ ঐ সমস্ত গুণ ধারণ পূর্বক যাবজ্জীবন মহৎ মহৎ কল্যাণকর ক্রিয়ামুষ্ঠান করেন, এবং ভ্র-শ্রম সমান ইয়ুরোপ ও আমেরিকা ভক্তিপূর্বক যে অসামান্য পুরুষের নিকট উপদেশ ও পরামর্শ গ্রহণ করিয়া কৃতার্থ হয়, মনের দ্বার উদঘাটন পূর্বক উচ্চৈঃস্বরে প্রজ্ঞা সহকারে যাহার গুণবর্ণন ও মহিমা কীর্তন করে, যাহার সর্ব-শুভকর উন্নতির চরিত্র আদর্শ-স্বরূপ জ্ঞান করিয়া অন্তঃকরণের সহিত তাহার অনুকরণ প্রার্থনা করে, এবং এক সময়ে যাহার সহিত সহবাস ও সন্মিলাপ বহুমূল্য সম্পত্তি বিবেচনা করিয়া ভ্রাতৃত্বার্থে যাব পর নাই আগ্রহ ও ঔৎসুক্য প্রকাশ করে, ও পক্ষে যাহার অসদৃশ্যে শোকাবুল হইয়া দুঃসহ ক্লেশভাব পূর্বক বিলাপ ও ক্রন্দন করে, উল্লিখিত কথাগুলি তাহারই পুণ্য-প্রসঙ্গ বলিয়া আমাকে ক্ষমা করিও ।

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এটি যদি একটি খাতাপত্র ইংরাজের প্রতিবৃদ্ধি নিষাধের সকল হইত, তাহা হইলে কত নানাপন্থ ভূম্যধিকারীর বিদ্যুত ভূসম্পত্তির

উপস্থিত, কত রাজ্য-শূন্য রাজ্যোপাধিকের রাজস্ব-ভাগ, কত কৰ্মচারি-
 পদের বেতন-মুদ্রা. কত বাণিজ্য-ব্যবসায়ের লাভাংশ ও কত কত
 অন্তমত স্বাধীন বৃত্তির আয়টুক মুহূর্তমাতে দান-পুস্তকে অঙ্কিত ও
 অবিলম্বে একত্র রাশীকৃত হইয়া কার্য সাধন করিয়া দিত। অথবা
 রামমোহন রায়েদই স্বরণচিহ্ন-সংস্থাপনার্থ যদি একটি সম্ভ্রান্ত ইংরেজ
 উদ্যোগী হইতেন, তাহা হইলেও কোন্ কালে ইহা সম্পন্ন হইয়া
 যাইত। তদীয় অহুবাগ ও প্রসাদ-লাভ প্রার্থনাতেই অক্লেশে সমুদায়
 স্থগিত করিয়া তুলিত। আমাদিগকে ধিক্!—শত ধিক্!—শত
 ধিক্!—সহস্রবার ধিক্! এমন দুর্দশাপন্ন হইয়াও হিন্দুজাতির
 চিরস্থায়ী হইবার ইচ্ছা আছে! যখন আমার দ্বারে দ্বারে ভিক্ষা
 করিবার সামর্থ্য নাই, তখন একরূপ ধিকার-উচ্চারণ ও আর্জনা
 প্রকাশ করা শোভা পায় না। কিন্তু আগ্নেয়গিরির অগ্ন্যুৎপাত ও
 জলন্ত দাবানলের স্তব্ধশিখা সমুদায় কে নিবারণ করিতে পারে?
 প্রচুর বারি বর্ষণ না হইলে, দাবানল আপন আধারকে ভস্মীভূত না
 করিয়া নিরস্ত হয় না। ভিক্ষা দূরে থাকুক, চেষ্টা দূরে থাকুক,
 বাক্যস্বরূপেরও শক্তি নাই! পূর্বোক্ত পংক্তি গুলি আমার চিত্ত-
 ভস্মের অন্তর্গত অগ্নি-ফুলিঙ্গ বই আর কিছুই নহ। তাহাতে
 কুজাপি কিছু উৎসাহানল উদ্দীপন করিলে, সৌভাগ্যের বিষয় হইত।
 উৎসাহ প্রদীপ্ত হইল; ইতস্ততঃ তাহার উত্তাপও অহুভূত হইল;
 কিন্তু তালপত্রের অগ্নি; প্রদীপ্ত হইয়াই নির্কাণ হইয়া গেল। সকলই
 আক্ষেপের বিষয়। মনস্তাপ! মনস্তাপ! অনেকে শৃগাল-প্রতিমা
 নির্মাণ করিয়া পূজা করিবেন, তথাচ সিংহ প্রতিমূর্তি দর্শনে অহুবাগী

ও উদ্‌যোগী হইবেন না। এদেশে মানব-প্রকৃতির কি বিকৃতি ও
 বিপর্যয়ই ঘটয়াছে!--ও ইয়ুরোপ! ও আমেরিকা! একবার
 এদিকে নেত্রপাত কর! যদি রামমোহন বায়ের স্বদেশীয়-বর্গের কত-
 দূর অধঃপাত ঘটিতে পারে দেখিতে চাও, তবে আমাদের প্রতি এক-
 বার দৃষ্টিপাত কর! উত্তম পদার্থ কিরূপে অধম হয়, উচ্চাশয়
 কিরূপে নীচাশয় হয় ও মহৎমাদেহ কিরূপে অমানুষের আধার হয়,
 তাহা একবার আমাদের প্রতি নেত্রপাত করিয়া দৃষ্টি কর। পর্বত
 কিরূপে গহ্বর হয়, হীরক কিরূপে অঙ্গার হয় ও জলন্ত কাষ্ঠ কিরূপে
 ভস্ম-রাশিতে পরিণত হয়, তাহা একবার এই বর্তমান অকৃতজ্ঞ
 নরাধম জাতির প্রতি নেত্রপাত করিয়া দৃষ্টি কর!!!”

“All honour to you Ram Mohun Roy.
 It is a matter of no small wonder or thank-
 fulness that, at that time, the keen rays of
 your intellect should have pierced the dense
 mass of ignorance that enveloped the land
 like rolling clouds and shed their light so far
 and wide, that your pure and transparent
 soul should have discerned and eschewed all
 the superstitions of your country and of
 your age. Your soul glowing with know-
 ledge and religious ardour was then, as it

were, an active volcano in the midst of a jungly morass, that sent forth impetuously on all sides copious streams of the fire of knowledge hallowed by sanctity. The martial music that you made on behalf of science is still, as it were, ringing in our ears. That loud yet deep trumpet-tone is being echoed and re-echoed even to this day and achieving victory even in this unworthy land. With a view to the removal of prevailing superstitions at home and abroad you have shown all the valour of an indomitable warrior in the character of an assailant, and have won complete and indubitable victory by defeating all opponents in argumentative combats. You have the title of Raja. But it is no inert mass of dust that constitutes your domain. You have won for yourself an extensive mental dominion. The educated and enlightened community of your own time and that of the succeeding ages, in particular, have put a crown on your head and have been singing psalms of victory in your honour. Those who had been reign-

ing over the minds of the Hindus from time immemorial, then have you conquered and dethroned. You are therefore the King of kings. The triumphant flag that you have set up in their domain have never again been struck down, but has been waving as triumphantly as ever. The progeny of those very Indians who once reckoned you their enemy, now recognise you, no doubt, as their great friend. You are the friend not of India alone, but of the whole world.

“As on the one hand you have sought to adorn your motherland with the jewels of knowledge and righteousness, so have you, on the other, crossed deep and perilous seas, reached the metropolis of the British Empire and tried your best to bring about various administrative reforms and an amelioration of the lot of humanity. What a feat, what an achievement for that time! Such is the glory of genius!

“You settled in England and the learned of that land were struck with amazement at the sight of your many accomplishments

and virtues. Your presence once inspired an enlightened circle with such a mingled feeling of admiration and amazement as if Plato, Socrates, or Newton had come down on the earth again, in the flesh. You were a thing not only above your time but above your country also. India was no fit habitation for you. It has been said that the birth of such a man in such a country is perhaps something unprecedented in the world's history.

“How many pillars of your triumph, how many monuments of your glory are still conspicuous in the shape of the abolition of the *suttee*, the founding of the Brahmo religion, the advancement of your own countrymen! We know not what a happy inspiration it was that made you resolve on traversing half the globe. The good and renowned people even of those remote regions having come to know of your uncommon virtues were eager to welcome you into their midst. How many beneficial projects, how many charitable schemes must you have pondered

over! But unlucky as India is, none of these bore any practical fruit. Bristol, what a calamity have you brought on! You have orphaned and dispirited us for good, you have laid the fatal axe at the root of the tree of extraordinary virtue that was bearing all sorts of nectareous fruits.

“What a terrible day was that day of disaster! Our mourning for that day still continues and shall continue for ever. On that day the well-being of India received as it were a death-blow. Young India, you became helpless and shelterless on that day and fell into the condition of the Sikh force when they had no longer the great Ranjit to lead them. Miserable cultivators, you were deprived on that day, for ever, of the protection of the kind benefactor, who, at a time when though growing abundant crops for home and foreign consumption, you could not lift even a morsel of the coarsest rice to your own mouths with an easy mind and tearless eyes, was anxious to remove that unbearable load of misery and

soothe your anguished hearts, and, with that view, unknown to them, stayed in the metropolis of the British Empire and addressed letters in his own hand-writing to every high official beseeching earnestly a redress of your grievances. Ever persecuted Indian women, you lost on that day the great friend who had the removal of your misery and a marked improvement in your position uppermost in his thoughts, and who, utterly unsolicited and endlessly persecuted, prevented that dreadful self-immolation of yours, the very remembrance of which is enough to make the blood curdle and cause the heart to tremble, and all the attendant train of evils such as the grief, the wailings and the tears of your friends and relations. O Mother India, thou that art afflicted with so many afflictions, on that day perhaps was that tree of hope of yours uprooted.

“I feel as if that old grief was renewed, in my heart. I am utterly unable to restrain my tears. It is necessary that I should think

of something else and forget that grief. Nor is there wanting a consoling reflection. Our Raja is not a thing to be utterly extinct. He has vanished from the earth, but has not accomplished his ever-cherished humanitarian projects. How many a time has a deep and solemn voice proceeded from his sepulchre and kindled holy ardour and accomplished charitable ends! Though dead, therefore, yet he has not forsaken us. In virtue of his noble projects in life and of the example of his character, he has been, even after death, working good and teaching us, and is thereby still to us an object of gratitude. Nay, Europe and America also enshrine him in their memory.

“Persecuted by his countrymen in his life time he had hoped for the grateful recognition of posterity. But no visible sign of such recognition is yet forthcoming. Fortunately Dwarakanath Tagore went to England. It is to that visit that we owe the erection of a decent tomb over the Raja's remains. Well, Indians, you proceed, from time to

time, to erect memorial statues to particular individuals. But does the wish never cross your mind of erecting a full-length statue of Ram Mohun Roy and placing it on the right hand of that of the noble Bentinck? Indian authors, does it never appear to you to be an imperative duty to compile an elaborate biography of his after careful research and thereby hallow your own pens and repay a small fraction of the debt that we owe him? What wretches, what ingrates we are!

“True, the volume of incidental discourse is growing apace. But dear reader, it does not appear as if there was ever on earth witnessed a combination of genius, capacity and benevolence such as his who devoted heart, soul and wealth to the well-being of India and the amelioration of her lot, and who exemplified in his own life the truth of that pregnant and sacred Persian saying, “The true worship of God consists in doing good to humanity”, a saying which he was always in the habit of quoting. But I

crave your pardon on the ground of these topics being connected with the holy deeds of him who united in himself all these accomplishments and virtues and achieved through life great and noble deeds, at whose feet those terrestrial paradises, Europe and America, were delighted to sit for instruction and counsel, whom they praised loudly and unreservedly, whose perfect and noble character they sought to imitate as a model, intercourse with whom they sought with eagerness as a most valuable acquisition and subsequently at whose departure they wailed and lamented as at a heavy calamity.

“If it had been a project of raising a statue to some renowned Englishman, the rental of the broad acres of many a land-holder of diverse grades, the income of many a lackland dignified with the title of Raja, the salaries of many an officer, the income of many a commercial firm, and the proceeds of many other independent professions would have figured on the subscription list and accomplished that end in no time. Or even

if some Englishman of position had bestirred himself in the matter of the erection of a memorial to Ram Mohun Roy, the work would have been accomplished long ere this. The eagerness to secure that Englishman's favour and good will would have been enough to ensure its success. Shame to us ! a hundred, a thousand shames ! So wretched as it is, the Hindu community aspires to permanence ! It ill becomes me who am unable to beg from door to door to cry shame and express regret in this fashion. But who can stay the eruption of a volcano or curb the towering flames of a forest conflagration ? Without a copious shower a conflagration must consume that on which it feeds. Not to speak of begging or striving, even speaking to me is a painful effort. The above lines are only sparks, as it were, from the ashes of my funeral pyre. It would be fortunate if it could stir up some zeal in some quarter. But no sooner is fervour kindled and its heat felt all round than like straw on fire it is extinguished almost as soon

as it got ablaze. The pity of it! Many would erect and worship images of jackals, but none cares to behold the image of the lion. What a disastrous change has come over the character of the Indians! O Europe, O America, cast your eyes for once this way. If you wish to see how far down it is possible for the countrymen of Ram Mohun Roy to fall, then just look at us. Look at us and see how good substance degenerates into vile, nobleness into meanness, and the human frame becomes a depository of un-human qualities. Look at this ungrateful people and see how a mountain becomes a depression, how diamond turns to coal and how a burning wood is reduced to a heap of ashes."

Appendix A.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD AMHERST,
Governor-General of India in Council.

MY LORD,

Humbly reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present rulers of India, coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people whose language, literature, manners, customs, and ideas, are almost entirely new and strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with their real circumstances as the natives of the country are themselves. We should, therefore, be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty to ourselves and afford our rulers just grounds of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions of importance like the present, to supply them with such accurate information

as might enable them to devise and adopt measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus second by our local knowledge and experience their declared benevolent intentions for its improvement.

The establishment of a new Sanscrit school in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to improve the natives of India by education,—a blessing for which they must ever be grateful, and every well-wisher of the human race must be desirous that the efforts made to promote it, should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow in the most useful channels.

When this seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talent and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural

Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge, thus promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude, we already offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened nations of the West with the glorious ambition of planting in Asia the arts and sciences of modern Europe.

We find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu pandits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The

pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since then produced by speculative men, such as already commonly taught in all parts of India.

The Sanskrit language, so difficult that almost a life time is necessary for its acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check to the diffusion of knowledge, and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil, is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. But if it were thought necessary to perpetuate this language for the sake of the portion of valuable information it contains, this might be much more easily accomplished by other means than the establishment of a new Sanskrit College; for there have been always and are now numerous professors of Sanscrit in the different parts of the country engaged in teaching this language, as well as the other branches of literature which are to be the object of the new seminary. Therefore their more diligent cultivation, if desirable,

would be effectually promoted, by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to their most eminent professors, who have already undertaken, on their own account to teach them, and would by such rewards be stimulated to still greater exertion.

From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India was intended by the Government in England for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed, since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen years of the most valuable period of their lives, in acquiring the niceties of *Vyakaran* or Sanskrit Grammar, for instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following: *khada*, signifying to eat, *khadati* he or she or it eats, query, whether does *khadati* taken as a whole convey the meaning he, she or it eats, or are separate parts of this meaning

conveyed by distinctions of the words, as if in the English language it were asked how much meaning is there in the *eat* and how much in the *s*, and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by these two portions of it distinctly or by them taken jointly?

Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following which are the themes suggested by the *Va-danta*,—in what manner is the soul absorbed in the Deity? What relation does it bear to the Divine Essence? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe, that all visible things have no real existence, that as father, brother, &c., have no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better.

Again, no essential benefit can be derived by the student of the *Mimansa* from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat 'sinless' by pronouncing certain passages of the *Vedanta* and what is the real nature

and operative influence of passages of the Vedas, &c.

The student of the *Nyaya Sastra* cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned from it into how many ideal classes the objects in the universe are divided and what speculative relation, the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, &c.

In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterized, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanscrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in dark-

ness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe and providing a College furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus.

In presenting this subject to your Lordship, I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen, and also to that enlightened sovereign and legislature which have extended their benevolent care to this distant land, actuated by a desire to improve the inhabitants, and therefore humbly trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus expressing my sentiments to your Lordship.

I have the honour, &c.,
RAM MOHUN ROY.

Appendix B.

**MEMORIAL TO THE SUPREME
COURT.**

TO THE HONOURABLE SIR FRANCIS
MACNAUGHTEN,

*Sole Acting Judge of the Supreme Court of
Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.*

MY LORD,

In consequence of the late Rule and Ordinance passed by His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, regarding the publication of periodical works, your memorialists consider themselves called upon, with due submission, to represent to you their feelings and sentiments on the subject.

Your memorialists beg leave, in the first place, to bring to the notice of your Lordship, various proofs given by the natives of this country of their unshaken loyalty to, and unlimited confidence in the British Government of India, which may remove from your mind any apprehension of the Government being

brought into hatred and contempt, or of the peace, harmony, and good order of society in this country, being liable to be interrupted and destroyed, as implied in the preamble of the above Rule and Ordinance.

First. Your Lordship is well aware, that the natives of Calcutta and its vicinity, have voluntarily entrusted Government with millions of their wealth, without indicating the least suspicion of its stability and good faith, and reposing in the sanguine hope that their property being so secured, their interests will be as permanent as the British power itself; while on the contrary, their fathers were invariably compelled to conceal their treasures in the bowels of the earth, in order to preserve them from the insatiable rapacity of their oppressive rulers.

Secondly. Placing entire reliance on the promises made by the British Government at the time of the perpetual settlement of the landed property in this part of India, in 1793, the landholders have since, by constantly improving their estates, been able to increase

their produce, in general very considerably; whereas, prior to that period, and under former Governments, their forefathers were obliged to lay waste the greater part of their estates, in order to make them appear of inferior value, that they might not excite the cupidity of Government, and thus cause their rents to be increased or themselves to be dispossessed of their lands,—a pernicious practice which often incapacitated the landholders from discharging even their stipulated revenue to Government, and reduced their families to poverty.

Thirdly. During the last wars which the British Government were obliged to undertake against neighbouring Powers, it is well known, that the great body of natives of wealth and respectability, as well as the landholders of consequence, offered up regular prayers to the objects of their worship for the success of the British arms from a deep conviction that under the sway of that nation, their improvement, both mental and social, would be promoted, and their lives, religion,

and property be secured. Actuated by such feelings, even in those critical times, which are the best test of the loyalty of the subject they voluntarily came forward with a large portion of their property to enable the British Government to carry into effect the measures necessary for its own defence, considering the cause of the British as their own, and firmly believing that on its success, their own happiness and prosperity depended.

Fourthly. It is manifest as the light of day, that the general subjects of observation and the constant and the familiar topic of discourse among the Hindu community of Bengal, are the literary and political improvements which are continually going on in the state of the country under the present system of Government, and a comparison between their present auspicious prospects and their hopeless condition under their former rulers.

Under these circumstances, your Lordship cannot fail to be impressed with a full conviction, that whoever charges the natives of this country with disloyalty, or insinuates aught to

the prejudice of their fidelity and attachment to the British Government, must either be totally ignorant of the affairs of this country and the feelings and sentiments, of its inhabitants, as above stated, or, on the contrary, be desirous of misrepresenting the people and misleading the Government, both here and in England, for unworthy purposes of his own.

Your memorialists must confess, that these feelings of loyalty and attachment, of which the most unequivocal proofs stand on record, have been produced by the wisdom and liberality displayed by the British Government in the means adopted for the gradual improvement of their social and domestic condition, by the establishment of Colleges, Schools, and other beneficial institutions in this city, among which the creation of a British Court of Judicature for the more effectual administration of justice, deserves to be gratefully remembered.

A proof of the natives of India being more and more attached to the British Rule in proportion as they experience from it the blessings

of just and liberal treatment, is, that the inhabitants of Calcutta, who enjoy in many respects very superior privileges to those of their fellow-subjects in other parts of the country, are known to be in like measure more warmly devoted to the existing Government; nor is it at all wonderful they should in loyalty be not at all inferior to British-born subjects, since they feel assured of the possession of the same civil and religious liberty, which is enjoyed in England, without being subjected to such heavy taxation as presses upon the people there.

Hence the population of Calcutta, as well as the value of land in this City, have rapidly increased of late years, notwithstanding the high rents of houses and the dearness of all the necessaries of life compared with other parts of the country, as well as the inhabitants being subject to additional taxes, and also liable to the heavy costs necessarily incurred in case of suits before the Supreme Court.

Your Lordship may have learned from works of the Christian missionaries, and also from

other sources, that ever since the art of printing has become generally known among the natives of Calcutta, numerous publications have been circulated, in the Bengalee language, which by introducing free discussion among the natives and inducing them to reflect and inquire after knowledge, have already served greatly to improve their minds and ameliorate their condition. This desirable object has been chiefly promoted by the establishment of four Native newspapers, two in the Bengalee and two in the Persian language, published for the purpose of communicating to those residing in the interior of the country, accounts of whatever occurs worthy of notice at the Presidency or in the country and also the interesting and valuable intelligence of what is passing in England and in other parts of the world, conveyed through the English newspapers or other channels.

Your memorialists are unable to discover any disturbance of the peace, harmony and good order of society, that has arisen from the English press, the influence of which

must necessarily be confined to that part of the community who understand the language thoroughly: but they are quite confident, that the publications in the native languages, whether in the shape of a newspaper or any other work, have none of them been calculated to bring the Government of the country into hatred and contempt, and that they have not proved, as far as can be ascertained by the strictest inquiry, in the slightest degree injurious; which has very lately been acknowledged in one of the most respectable English missionary works. So far from obtruding upon Government groundless representations Native Authors and Editors have always restrained themselves from publishing even such facts respecting the judicial proceedings in the interior of the country as they thought were likely at first view to be obnoxious to Government.

While your memorialists were indulging the hope that Government, from a conviction of the manifold advantages of being put in possession of full and impartial information

regarding what is passing in all parts of the country, would encourage the establishment of newspapers in the cities and districts under the special patronage and protection of Government, that they might furnish the Supreme Authorities in Calcutta with an accurate account of local occurrences and reports of Judicial proceedings,—they have the misfortune to observe, that on the country, his Excellency the Governor-General in Council has lately promulgated a Rule and Ordinance imposing severe restraints on the Press and prohibiting all Periodical Publication even at the Presidency, and in the native languages, unless sanctioned by a License from Government, which is to be revocable at pleasure whenever it shall appear to Government that a publication has contained anything of an unsuitable character.

Those natives who are in more favourable circumstances and of respectable character, have such an invincible prejudice against making a voluntary affidavit or undergoing the solemnities of an oath, that they will

never think of establishing a publication which can only be supported by a series of oaths and affidavits, abhorrent to their feelings and derogatory to their reputation amongst their countrymen.

After this Rule and Ordinance shall have been carried into execution, your Memorialists are therefore extremely sorry to observe that a complete stop will be put to the diffusion of knowledge and the consequent mental improvement now going on, either by translations into the popular dialect of this country from the learned languages of the East, or by the circulation of literary intelligence drawn from foreign publications. And the same cause will also prevent those natives who are better versed in the laws and customs of the British nation, from communicating to their fellow-subjects a knowledge of the admirable system of Government established by the British, and the peculiar excellencies of the means they have adopted for the strict and impartial administration of justice. Another evil of equal importance

in the eyes of a just ruler, is, that it will also preclude the natives from making the Government readily acquainted with the errors and injustice that may be committed by its executive officers in the various parts of this extensive country; and it will also preclude the natives from communicating frankly and honestly to their gracious sovereign in England and his Council, the real condition of his Majesty's faithful subjects in this distant part of his dominions and the treatment they experience from the Local Government: since such information cannot in future be conveyed to England, as it has heretofore been, either by the translations from the native publications inserted in the English newspapers printed here and sent to Europe, or by the English publications which the natives themselves had in contemplation to establish, before this Rule and Ordinance was proposed.

After this sudden deprivation of one of the most precious of their rights, which has been freely allowed them since the establishment of the British Power, a right which

they are not, and cannot be charged with having ever abused, the inhabitants of Calcutta would be no longer justified in boasting that they are fortunately placed by Providence under the protection of the whole British nation, or that the king of England and his Lords and Commons are their Legislators and that they are secured in the enjoyment of the same civil and religious privileges that every Briton is entitled to in England.

Your memorialists are persuaded that the British Government is not disposed to adopt the political maxim so often acted upon by Asiatic Princes, that the more a people are kept in darkness, their rulers will derive the greater advantages from them; since, by reference to history, it is found that this was but a short-sighted policy which did not ultimately answer the purpose of its authors. On the contrary, it rather proved disadvantageous to them; for we find that as often as an ignorant people, when an opportunity offered, have revolted against their rulers, all sorts of barbarous excesses and cruel-

ties have been the consequence ; whereas a people naturally disposed to peace and ease, when placed under a good Government from which they experience just and liberal treatment, must become the more attached to it, in proportion as they become enlightened and the great body of the people are taught to appreciate the value of the blessings they enjoy under its rule.

Every good ruler who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature, and reverences the Eternal Governor of the world, must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire ; and therefore he will be anxious to afford every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the unrestrained liberty of publication, is the only effectual means that can be employed. And should it ever be abused, the established w of the land is very properly armed with sufficient powers to punish those who

may be found guilty of misrepresenting the conduct or character of Government, which are effectually guarded by the same laws to which individuals must look for protection of their reputation and good name.

Your memorialists conclude by humbly entreating your Lordship to take this memorial into your gracious consideration ; and that you will be pleased by not registering the above Rule and Ordinance, to permit the natives of this country to continue in possession of the civil rights and privileges which they and their fathers have so long enjoyed under the auspices of the British nation, whose kindness and confidence, they are not aware of having done anything to forfeit.

CHUNDER COOMAR TAGORE,
DWARKA NAUTH TAGORE,
RAM MOHUN ROY,
HURCHUNDER GHOSE,
GOWREE CHURN BONNERGEE,
PROSSUNNO COOMAR TAGORE.

Appendix C.

APPEAL TO THE KING IN COUNCIL

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, natives of India and inhabitants of Calcutta, being placed by Providence under the sovereign care and protection of the august head of the British nation, look up to your Majesty as the guardian of our lives, property, and religion, and when our rights are invaded and our prayers disregarded by the subordinate authorities, we beg leave to carry our complaints before your Majesty's throne, which is happily established in mercy and justice, amidst a generous people celebrated throughout the earth as the enemies of tyranny, and distinguished under your royal auspices, as the successful defenders of Europe from Continental usurpation.

2nd. We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, now come before you under the most

painful circumstances, the local executive authorities having suddenly assumed the power of legislation in matters of the highest moment, and abolished legal privileges of long standing, without the least pretence that we have ever abused them, and made an invasion on our civil rights such as is unprecedented in the history of British rule in Bengal, by a measure which either indicates a total disregard of the civil rights and privileges of your Majesty's faithful subjects, or an intention to encourage a cruel and unfounded suspicion of our attachment to the existing Government.

3rd. The greater part of Hindustan having been for several centuries subject to Mahomedan rule, the civil and religious rights of its original inhabitants were constantly trampled upon, and from the habitual oppression of the conquerors, a great body of their subjects in the southern peninsula (Dukhin), afterwards called Marhattähs, and another body in the western parts now styled Sikhs, were at last driven to

revolt; and when the Mussalman power became feeble, they ultimately succeeded in establishing their independence; but the natives of Bengal wanting vigour of body, and adverse to active exertion, remained during the whole period of the Mahomedan conquest, faithful to the existing Government, although their property was often plundered, their religion insulted, and their blood wantonly shed. Divine Providence at last, in its abundant mercy, stirred up the English nation to break the yoke of those tyrants, and to receive the oppressed natives of Bengal under its protection. Having made Calcutta the capital of their dominions, the English distinguished this city by such peculiar marks of favour, as a free people would be expected to bestow, in establishing an English Court of Judicature, and granting to all within its jurisdiction, the same civil rights as every Briton enjoys in his native country; thus putting the natives of India in possession of such privileges as their forefathers never expected

to attain, even under Hindu rulers. Considering these things and bearing in mind also the solicitude for the welfare of this country, uniformly expressed by the Honourable East India Company, under whose immediate control we are placed, and also by the Supreme Councils of the British nation, your dutiful subjects consequently have not viewed the English as a body of conquerors, but rather as deliverers, and look up to your Majesty not only as a ruler, but also as a father and protector.

4th. Since the establishment of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Calcutta till the present time, a period that has been distinguished by every variety of circumstances, the country sometimes reposing in the bosom of profound peace, at others shaken with the din of arms—the Local Government of Bengal, although composed from time to time, of men of every shade of character and opinion, never attempted of its own will and pleasure to take away any of the rights which your Majesty's

royal ancestors with consent of their Councils, had been graciously pleased to confer on your faithful subjects. Under the cheering influence of equitable and indulgent treatment, and stimulated by the example of a people famed for their wisdom and liberality, the natives of India, with the means of amelioration set before them, have been gradually advancing in social and intellectual improvement. In their conduct and in their writings, whether periodical or otherwise, they have never failed to manifest all becoming respect to a Government fraught with such blessing ; of which their own publications and the judgment passed upon them by the works of their contemporaries, are the best proofs. Your faithful subjects beg leave in support of this statement to submit two extracts from English works very lately published, one by a native of India, and the other by English missionaries ; the first is from a work published on the 30th of January 'last, by Ram Mohun Roy, entitled "a Final

Appeal to the Christian Public," which may serve as a specimen of the sentiments expressed by the natives of India towards the Government.

• "I now conclude my essay in offering up thanks to the Supreme Disposer of the universe, for having unexpectedly delivered this country, from the long continued tyranny of its former rulers, and placed it under the Government of the English, a nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves, in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry into literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends."

5th. • The second extract is from a periodical work published at the Danish settlement of Serampore, by a body of English missionaries, who are known to be generally the best qualified and the most careful observers of the foreign countries in which Europeans have settled. This work, entiled the "FRIEND

OF INDIA," treating of the Native Newspapers published in Bengal, thus observes:—"How necessary a step this (the establishment of a Native Press) was for the amelioration of the condition of the natives, no person can be ignorant who has traced the effects of the press in other countries. The natives themselves soon availed themselves of this privilege ; no less than four Weekly newspapers in the native language have now been established, and there are hopes, that these efforts will contribute essentially to arouse the native mind from its long lethargy of death ; and, while it excites them to enquire into what is going forward in a world, of which Asia forms so important a portion, urge them to ascertain their own situation respecting that eternal world, which really communicates all the vigour and interest now so visible in Europeans. *Nor has this liberty been abused by them in the least degree ;* yet these vehicles of intelligence have begun to be called for, from the very extremities of British India, and the

talents of the natives themselves, have not unfrequently been exerted in the production of essays, that would have done credit to our own countrymen."

6th. An English gentleman, of the name of Buckingham, who for some years published a newspaper in this place, entitled the "CALCUTTA JOURNAL," having incurred the displeasure of the Local Government, was ordered to leave this country, and soon afterwards, the Hon'ble John Adam, the Governor-general in council, suddenly without any previous intimation of his intentions, passed a Rule and Ordinance, on the 14th of March, thus taking away the liberty of the Press, which your Majesty's faithful subjects had so long and so happily enjoyed, and substituting his own will and pleasure for the laws of England, by which it had hitherto been governed.

7th. It being necessary according to the system established for the Government of this country that the above Regulation should receive the approbation of the

Supreme Court by being registered there, after having been fixed up for twenty days on the walls of the Court-room, before it could become law on the following Monday, (the 17th of March,) Mr. Fergusson, Barrister, moved the Court to allow parties who might feel themselves aggrieved by the new Regulation, to be heard against it by their Counsel before the sanction of the Court should establish it as law, and the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaughten, the sole acting Judge, expressed his willingness to hear in this manner, all that could be urged against it and appointed Monday the 31st of the same month of March, for Counsel to be heard. His Lordship also kindly suggested, that in the meantime, he thought it would be advisable to present a memorial to Government, praying for the withdrawal of the said Rule and Ordinance. These observations from the Honourable Sir Francis Macnaughten, inspired your Majesty's faithful subjects at this Presidency, with a confident hope, that his Lordship disapproved

of the Rule and Ordinance, and would use his influence with Government to second the prayer of the memorial he recommended to be presented, or that at least in virtue of the authority vested in him for the purpose of protecting your faithful subjects against illegal and oppressive acts, he would prevent the proposed Rule from passing into law.

8th. Your faithful subjects agreeable to a suggestion of this nature, proceeding from such a source, employed the few days intervening, in preparing a memorial to Government, containing a respectful representation of the reasons, which existed against the proposed Rule and Ordinance being passed into law; but in preparing this memorial in both the English and Bengalee languages, and discussing the alterations suggested by the different individuals who wished to give it their support and signature, so much time was necessarily consumed, that it was not ready to be sent into circulation for signature until the 30th

of March ; consequently only fifteen natives of respectability had time to read it over and affix their signature before the following day on which it was to be discussed in the Supreme Court and finally sanctioned or rejected- Besides that this number was considered insufficient, it was then too late for Government to act upon this memorial, so as to supersede the discussions and decision that were to take place in the Court, and a few individuals, therefore, of those who concurred in it, hastily prepared another memorial of the same tenor in the morning of that day, addressed to the Supreme Court itself, demonstrating our unshaken attachment to the British Government, and praying the Court to withhold its sanction from a Regulation which would deprive us of an invaluable privilege, firmly secured to us by the laws of the land, which we had so long enjoyed and could not be charged with ever having abused. And although from these circumstances, the memorial had still fewer signatures, your Majesty's faithful

subjects reposed in the hope, that in appealing to a British Court of Law they might rely more on the justice of their cause, than the number or weight of names, especially, since it is wellknown, that there are many under the immediate influence of Government, who would not express an opinion against the acts of those in power at the time, although it were to secure the salvation of all their countrymen.

9th. This memorial being, by the order of the Judge, read by the Registrar of the Court, Mr. Fergusson, (who besides his professional skill and eminence as an English lawyer, has acquired by his long practice at the Calcutta Bar, a very intimate acquaintance with the state of this country) in virtue of the permission granted him, entered into an argument, shewing the Rule and Ordinance to be both illegal and inexpedient.

10th. These and other conclusive arguments, urged by Mr. Fergusson and also by Mr. Turton, both eminently skilled in the

laws of England, 'powerfully strengthened the hopes previously created by the observations that formerly fell from the Bench, that the learned Judge would enter his protest against such a direct violation of the laws, and uncalled for invasion of the rights of your faithful subjects.

11th. Notwithstanding, we observed with astonishment and regret, that his Lordship, in giving his decision, paid no regard whatever to the above memorial, not alluding to it in the most distant manner, nor to the argument it contained; and his Lordship further disclosed, that at the time he expressed a desire to hear every objection that could be urged, and recommended a memorial to Government against it, from which your faithful subjects unanimously hoped that the mind of the Judge was undecided, and rather unfavourable to the Rule, his Lordship had previously pledged himself by promise to Government to give it his sanction.

12th. Your Majesty's subjects cannot account for the inconsistency manifested by Sir

Francis Macnaughten in two different points with regard to the sanctioning of this Regulation. In the first place, according to his Lordship's own statement from the Bench, he refused not only once, but twice, to see the Regulation before it passed in Council, probably because his Lordship thought it improper for him to give it his approbation until it came before him in the regular manner ; but he afterwards, when application was made to him a third time, not only consented to read it, but with some alterations agreed to give it his sanction, a change of conduct for which no reason was assigned by his Lordship. Again, when application was made to his Lordship to hear the objections that might be urged against it, before giving ~~is~~ his Judicial approval, his Lordship withheld from the knowledge of the public, not only that he had already so pledged himself ; but even that he had previously seen the Regulation, and expressed himself ready to hear all that could be said respecting it in the same manner as if his mind had been

unfettered by any promise, and perfectly open to conviction. Consequently, some of your Majesty's faithful subjects prepared a memorial and retained Counsel against the new Regulation, and had afterwards the mortification to find, that their representations were treated with contemptuous neglect, and that the arguments of the most able lawyers could be of no avail.

13th. Your Majesty in Parliament has been graciously pleased to make it a part of the law of this country, that after a Regulation has passed the Council, it must be fixed up for twenty days in the Supreme Court, before it can be registered, so as to receive the full force of law, an interval which allows the Judge time for deliberation and to hear from others all the objections that may exist to the proposed measure, and might have the effect of preventing the establishment of injudicious and inexpedient or unjust and oppressive acts ; but if, as in this case, the Judges enter into previous compact with the Local Government, and

thus preclude the possibility of any effectual representation from your faithful subjects, who have no intimation of what is meditated till it be finally resolved upon, the salutary effect of twenty day's delay is lost and your faithful subjects will be in constant apprehension, that the most valuable and sacred of their rights may, as in this instance, be suddenly snatched from them at a moment's warning, before they know that such a measure is in contemplation, or have time to represent the evils which it is calculated to inflict upon them.

14th. In pursuance of the Regulation passed as above described, the Government issued an official order in the "GOVERNMENT GAZETTE" of the 5th of April, commanding the attention of Editors of newspapers, or other periodical works, to certain restrictions therein contained, prohibiting all matters which it might consider as coming under the following heads :—

(1st). Defamatory or contumelious reflections against the king, or any of the members of the royal family.

(2nd). Observations or statements touching the character, constitution, measures or orders of the Court of Directors, or other public authorities in England, connected with the Government of India, or the character, constitution, measures, or orders of the Indian Governments, impugning the motives and designs of such authorities of Governments, or in any way tending to bring them into hatred or contempt, to excite resistance to their orders, and to weaken their authority.

(3rd.) Observations or statements of the above description, relative to, allied, or friendly Native Powers, their Ministers, or Representatives.

(4th.) Defamatory or contumelious remarks or offensive insinuations levelled against the Governor-General, the Governors or Commanders-in-Chief, the members of Council, or the Judges of His Majesty's Courts at any of the Presidencies, or the Bishop of Calcutta, and publications of any description tending to expose them to hatred, obloquy or contempt, also libellous or abusive reflections

and insinuations against the public officers of Government.

(5th.) Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended official interference with their religious opinions and observances, and irritating and insulting remarks on their peculiar usages and modes of thinking on religious subjects.

(6th.) The republication from English or other papers, of passages coming under the foregoing heads.

(7th.) Defamatory publications tending to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society.

(8th.) Anonymous appeals to the public relative to grievances of professional or official nature, alleged to have been sustained by public officers in the service of His Majesty or the Honourable Company.

15th. The above restrictions, as they are capable of being interpreted, will in fact afford Government and all its functionaries from the highest to the lowest, complete

immunity from censure or exposure respecting anything done by them in their official capacity, however desirable it might be for the interest of the country, and also that of this Honourable Company, that the public conduct of such public men should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It can scarcely be doubted that the real object of these restrictions is, to afford all the Functionaries of Government complete security against their conduct being made the subject of observation, though it is associated with a number of other restraints totally uncalled for, but well calculated to soothe the supreme authorities in England and win their assent to the main object of the Rule—the suppression of public remark on the conduct of the public officers of Government in India.

16th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects could have surely no inducement in this distant quarter of the world to make contumelious and injurious reflections on your Majesty or any of the members of your Majesty's illustrious family, or to circulate

them among people to whom your Majesty's name is scarcely known, and to the greatest part of whom, even the fame of your greatness and power has not reached; but to those few natives who are possessed of sufficient information to understand the political situation of England, the English newspapers and books which are constantly brought to this country in great abundance, are equally intelligible with the periodical publications printed in Calcutta.

17th. Neither can your Majesty's faithful subjects have any wish to make remarks on the proceedings of the Court of Directors, of whose beneficent Intentions they are well convinced, but that the Honourable body who have so often manifested their earnest desire to ameliorate the condition of their Indian dependants, must be naturally anxious to be made exactly acquainted with the manner in which their wishes are carried into execution, and the operation and effect of the acts passed relative to this country.

18th. Whoever shall maliciously publish what has a tendency to bring the Government into hatred and contempt, or excite resistance to its orders, or weaken their authority, may be punished by law as guilty of treason or sedition ; and surely in a country enjoying profound peace externally and internally, and where seditious and treasonable publications are unknown, it could not be necessary for Government to throw aside of a sudden, the laws which for anything that has appeared, were fully sufficient, and arm itself with new and extraordinary powers at a time when that Government is more secure than at any former period.

19th. It may surely be left for British Judges and Juries to determine whether the mention made of the proceedings of Government, be malevolent, seditious and dangerous to the State, so as to render a writer or publisher culpable and amenable to punishment ; but if the mere mention of the conduct of Government without misrepresentation or malice on the part of the

writer, bring it into hatred and contempt, such conduct will never receive the countenance or protection of your Majesty by the sanction of a law to prevent its exposure to public observation, and the discovery of that dissatisfaction it may have occasioned, which would afford the higher authorities an opportunity of removing them.

20th. After a body of English missionaries have been labouring for about twenty-five years by preaching and distributing publications in the native languages in all parts of Bengal, to bring the prevailing system of religion into disrepute, no alarm whatever prevails, because your Majesty's faithful subjects possess the power of defending their religion by the same means that are employed against it, and many of them have exercised the freedom of the press to combat the writings of English missionaries, and think no other protection necessary to the maintenance of their faith. While the teachers of Christianity use only reason and persuasion to propagate their religion,

your Majesty's faithful subjects are content to defend theirs by the same weapons, convinced that true religion needs not the aid of the sword or of legal penalties for its protection. While your Majesty's faithful subjects perceived that Government shewed no displeasure, and claimed no arbitrary power of preventing the publication of what was written in defence of the prevailing religion of the country, it was impossible to entertain any such suspicion as that intimated in the 5th article, viz., that Government would interfere with the established faith of the natives of this country: Nevertheless, if any person with a malicious and seditious design were to circulate an unfounded rumour that Government meant so to interfere with our religious privileges, he would be severely punished by law : but if the Government really intended to adopt measures to change the religion of the country, your Majesty's faithful subjects would be absolutely prohibited by the present restrictions from intimating the appalling intelligence

to their countrymen : and although they have every reason to hope that the English nation will never abandon that religious toleration which has distinguished their progress in the East, it is impossible to foresee to what purposes of religious oppression such a law might at some future time be applied.

21st. The office of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta not calling him to preach Christianity in that part of the town inhabited by the natives, or to circulate pamphlets among them against the established religion of the country, but being of a nature totally distinct from, and not at all interfering with the religious opinion of the native population, they could never dream of vilifying and defaming his character or office.

22nd. The Judges of the Supreme Court in Calcutta and of the English Courts of Judicature at the other Presidencies, enjoy, in virtue of their office, the power of protecting their characters and official conduct from defamation and abuse : since such would be

either a contempt of the court, liable to summary punishment, or punishable by those laws enacted against libel. It is therefore hard to be conceived, that they stand in need of still further protection, unless it should be wished thereby to create an idea of their infallibility, which however is incompatible with the freedom allowed to Barristers, of delivering their sentiments beforehand on the justice or injustice of the opinions the Judges may pronounce, and in case of appeal, of controverting the justice and equity of their decision. The only object such a restriction is calculated to attain, must therefore be defeated, unless it be meant thereby to prevent the publication of the pleadings which as they take place in an English Court of Judicature are by law public, and ought to be accessible to all.

23rd. The seventh restriction prohibiting defamatory publications tending to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society, is equally unnecessary, since the British legislature has already provided a

punishment for such offences by the laws enacted against libel.

24th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects will not offer any more particular remarks on the superfluous restrictions introduced to accompany those more important ones which are the principal object of Government, and will conclude with this general observation, that they are unnecessary, either because the offences prohibited are imaginary and improbable, or because they are already provided for by the laws of the land, and either the Government does not intend to put them in force at all, or it is anxious to interrupt the regular course of justice, abolish the right of trial by jury and, by taking the law into its own hands, to combine the legislative and judicial power, which is destructive of all civil liberty.

25th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects have heard that, your Majesty constantly submits to the greatest freedom of remark among your British-born subjects without losing any part of the homage and respect

due to your exalted character and station, and that the conduct of your ministers is constantly the topic of discussion, without destroying the dignity and power of the Government. While such is the case in a country where it is said above nine-tenths of the inhabitants read newspapers, and are therefore liable to be led by the opinions circulated through the press, its capability of bringing a Government into hatred and contempt must be far less in a country where the great mass of the population do not read at all, and have the greatest reverence for men in power, of whom they can only judge by what they feel, and are not to be moved by what is written, but by what is done, where consequently Government can only be brought into hatred and contempt by its own acts.

26th. The Marquis of Hastings who had associated for the greater part of his life, with kings and princes, entertained no apprehension that the salutary control of public scrutiny which he commended, would bring him

or his Indian administration into hatred and contempt ; and in effect, instead of such being the result, the greater the freedom he allowed to the European conductors of the press, only rendered his name the most honoured and revered in this part of the world, because it was universally believed, that this conduct proceeded from a consciousness of rectitude which feared no investigation.

27th. But your faithful subjects might forbear urging further arguments on this subject to your Majesty, who with your actions open to observation, possess the love, the esteem, and the respect of mankind, in a degree which none of the despotic monarchs of Europe or Asia can ever attain, whose subjects are prohibited from examining and expressing their opinions regarding their conduct.

28th. Asia unfortunately affords few instances of princes who have submitted their actions to the judgment of their subjects, but those who have done so, instead of falling

into hatred and contempt, were the more loved and respected, while they lived, and their memory is still cherished by posterity ; whereas more despotic monarchs, pursued by hatred in their life time, could with difficulty escape the attempts of the rebel or the assassin, and their names are either detested or forgotten.

29th. The idea of the possession of absolute power and protection, is evidently not necessary to the stability of the British Government of India, since your Majesty's faithful subjects are accustomed to see private individuals citing the Government before the Supreme Court, where the justice of their acts is fearlessly impugned, and after the necessary evidence being produced and due investigation made, judgment not unfrequently given against the Government, the judge not feeling himself restrained from passing just sentence by any fear of the Government being thereby brought into contempt. And your Majesty's faithful subjects only pray, that it may be permitted by means of the

press or by some other means equally effectual, to bring forward evidence regarding the acts of Government which affect the general interest of the community, that they also may be investigated and reversed, when those who have the power of doing so, become convinced that they are improper or injurious.

30th. A Government conscious of rectitude of intention, cannot be afraid of public scrutiny by means of the press, since this instrument can be equally well employed as a weapon of defence, and a Government possessed of immense patronage, is more especially secure, since the greater part of the learning and talent in the country being already enlisted in the service, its actions, if they have any shadow of justice, are sure of being ably and successfully defended.

31st. Men in power hostile to the liberty of the press, which is a disagreeable check upon their conduct, when unable to discover any real evil arising from its existence, have attempted to make the world imagine, that

it might, in some possible contingency, afford the means of combination against the Government, but not to mention that extraordinary emergencies would warrant measures which in ordinary times are totally unjustifiable, your Majesty is well aware, that a free press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of the world, because, while men can easily represent the grievances arising from the conduct of the local authorities to the Supreme Government, and thus get them redressed, the grounds of discontent that excite revolution are removed ; whereas, where no freedom of the press existed, and grievances consequently remained unrepresented and unredressed, innumerable revolutions have taken place in all parts of the globe, or if prevented by the armed force of the Government, the people continued ready for insurrection.

32nd. The servants of the Honourable Company are necessarily firmly attached to that system from which they derive their consequence and power, and on which their hopes of higher honours and still greater

emoluments depend ; and if it be possible to imagine, that these strong considerations are not sufficient to preserve subordination among them, the power of suspension and ruin which hangs over their heads for any deviation from duty, is certainly sufficient to secure that object.

33rd. After the British Government has existed for so many years, it has acquired a certain standard character in the minds of the natives of India, from the many excellent men who have from time to time held the reins of power, and the principles by which they have been guided. Whatever opinion, therefore may be entertained of the individuals composing it at a particular period, while the source of power remains the same, your Majesty's faithful subjects cannot of a sudden lose confidence in the virtue of the stream, since although it may for a period be tainted with corruption, yet in the natural course of events it must soon resume its accustomed character. Should individuals abuse the power entrusted to

them, public resentment cannot be transferred from the delinquents to the Government itself, while there is a prospect of remedy from the higher authorities ; and should the highest in this country turn a deaf ear to all complaint, by forbidding grievances to be even mentioned, the spirit of loyalty is still kept alive by the hope of redress from the authorities in England ; thus the attachment of the natives of India, to the British Government must be as permanent as their confidence in the honour and justice of the British nation, which is their last court of appeal next to Heaven. But if they be prevented from making their real condition known in England, deprived of this hope of redress, they will consider the most peculiar excellence of the British Government of India, as done away with.

34th. If these conclusions drawn from the particular circumstances of the country, be met with such an argument as that a colony or distant dependency can never safely be entrusted with the liberty of the press,

and that therefore natives of Bengal cannot be allowed to exercise the privileges they have so long enjoyed, this would be in other words to tell them, that they are condemned to perpetual oppression and degradation, from which they can have no hope of being raised during the existence of the British power.

35th. The British nation has never yet descended to avow a principle so foreign to their character, and if they could for a moment entertain the idea of preserving their power by keeping their colonies in ignorance, the prohibition of periodical publications is not enough, but printing of all kinds, education, and every other means of diffusing knowledge should be equally discouraged and put down. For it must be the distant consequences of the diffusion of knowledge that are dreaded by those (if there be any such) who are really apprehensive of the stability of Government, since it is well known to all in the least acquainted with this country, that although every

effort were made 'by periodical as well as other publications, a great number of years must elapse before any considerable change can be made in the existing habits and opinions of the natives of India, so firmly are they wedded to established custom. Should apprehensions so unworthy of the English nation prevail, then unlike the ancient Romans who extended their knowledge and civilization with their conquest, ignorance and degradation must mark the extent of British power. Yet surely even this affords no hope of perpetual rule, since notwithstanding the tyranny and oppression of Gengis Khan and Tamerlane, their empire was not so lasting as that of the Romans, who to the proud title of conquerors, added the more glorious one of enlighteners of the world. And of the two most renowned and powerful monarchs among the Moghuls, Akbar was celebrated for his clemency, for his encouragement of learning, and for granting civil and religious liberty to his subjects, and Aurungzebe, for

his cruelty and intolerance, yet the former reigned happy, extended his power and his dominions, and his memory is still adored, whereas the other, though endowed with equal abilities and possessed of equal power and enterprize, met with many reverses and misfortunes during his life time, and his name is now held in abhorrence.

36th. It is well known that despotic Governments naturally desire the suppression of any freedom of expression which might tend to expose their acts to the obloquy which ever attends the exercise of tyranny or oppression, and the argument they constantly resort to, is, that the spread of knowledge is dangerous to the existence of all legitimate authority, since, as a people become enlightened, they will discover that by a unity of effort, the many may easily shake off the yoke of the few, and thus become emancipated from the restraints of power altogether, forgetting the lesson derived from history, that in countries which have made the smallest advances in civilization,

anarchy and revolution are most prevalent—while on the other hand, in nations the most enlightened, any revolt against Governments which have guarded inviolate the rights of the governed, is most rare, and that the resistance of a people advanced in knowledge, has ever been—not against the existence,—but against the abuses of the governing power. Canada, during the late war with America, afforded a memorable instance of the truth of this argument. The enlightened inhabitants of that colony, finding that their rights and privileges had been secured to them, their complaints listened to, and their grievances redressed by the British Government, resisted every attempt of the United States to seduce them from their allegiance to it. In fact, it may be fearlessly averred, that the more enlightened a people become, the less likely are they to revolt against the governing power, as long as it is exercised with justice tempered with mercy, and the rights and privileges of the governed are held sacred from any invasion.

37th. If your Majesty's faithful subjects could conceive for a moment, that the British nation actuated solely by interested policy, considered India merely as a valuable property, and would regard nothing but the best means of securing its possession and turning it to advantage, even then, it would be of importance to ascertain whether this property be well taken care of by their servants, on the same principle that good masters are not indifferent about the treatment of their slaves.

38th. While therefore the existence of a free press is equally necessary for the sake of the Governors and the governed, it is possible a national feeling may lead the British people to suppose, that in two points, the peculiar situation of this country requires a modification of the laws enacted for the control of the press in England. First, that for the sake of greater security and to preserve the union existing between England and this country, it might be necessary to enact a penalty to be inflicted on such

persons as might endeavour to excite hatred in the minds of the natives of India against the English nation. Secondly, that a penalty should be inflicted on such as might seditiously attempt to excite hostilities with neighbouring or friendly States, Although your Majesty's faithful subjects are not aware that anything has yet occurred to call for the precautions thus anticipated, yet should such or any other limitations of the liberty of the press be deemed necessary, they are perfectly willing to submit to additional penalties to be legally inflicted. But they must humbly enter their protest against the justice of robbing them of their long-standing privileges, by the introduction of numerous arbitrary restrictions, totally uncalled for by the circumstances of the country—and whatever may be their intention, calculated to suppress truth, protect abuses—and encourage oppression.

39th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects now beg leave to call your Majesty's attention to some peculiarly injurious conse-

quences of the new laws that have thus been suddenly introduced in the manner above described. First, the above Rule and Ordinance has deprived your Majesty's faithful subjects of the liberty of the press, which they had enjoyed for so many years since the establishment of the British rule. Secondly, your Majesty's faithful subjects are deprived of the protection of your Majesty and the high council of the British nation, who have hitherto exclusively exercised the legislative power in this part of your Majesty's dominions.

40th. If upon representations being made by the local authorities in the country, your Majesty after due investigation had been pleased with the advice of the high council of the realm to order the abolition of the liberty of the press in India, your Majesty's faithful subjects from the feeling of respect and loyalty due to the supreme legislative power, would have patiently submitted, since although they would in that case, still have lost one of their most precious privileges,

yet their claim to the superintendence and protection of the highest legislative authority, in whom your faithful subjects have unbounded confidence; would still have remained unshaken; but were this Rule and Ordinance of the Local Government to be held valid, and thus remain as a precedent for similar proceedings in future, your faithful subjects would find their hope of protection from the Supreme Government, cut off, and all their civil and religious rights placed entirely at the mercy of such individuals as may be sent from England to assume the executive authority in this country, or rise into power through the routine of office, and who from long officiating in an inferior station, may have contracted prejudices against individuals or classes of men, which ought not to find shelter in the breast of the legislator.

41st. As it never has been imagined, or surmised in this country, that the Government was in any immediate danger from the operation of the native press, it cannot be

pretended, that the public safety required strong measures to be instantly adopted, and that consequently there was not sufficient time to make a representation to the authorities in England, and wait for their decision, or that it was incumbent on the highest Judicial authority in India, to sanction an act so repugnant to the laws of England, which he has sworn to maintain inviolate.

42nd. If as your Majesty's faithful subjects have been informed, the Government were dissatisfied with the conduct of the English newspaper, called the "Calcutta Journal," the banishment of the Editor of that paper, and the power of punishing those left by him to manage his concern, should they also give offence, might have satisfied the Government; but at any rate your Majesty's faithful subjects, who are natives of this country, against whom there is not the shadow of a charge, are at a loss to understand the nature of that justice which punishes them, for the fault imputed to others. Yet notwithstanding what the local

authorities of this country have done, your faithful subjects feel confident, that your Majesty will not suffer it to be believed throughout your Indian territories, that it is British justice to punish millions for the fault imputed to one individual.

43rd. The abolition of this most precious of their privileges, is the more appalling to your Majesty's faithful subjects, because it is a violent infringement of their civil and religious rights, which under the British Government, they hoped would be always secure. Your Majesty is aware, that under their former Mahomedan rulers, the natives of this country enjoyed every political privilege in common with Mussulmans, being eligible to the highest offices in the State, entrusted with the command of armies and the government of provinces and often chosen as advisers to their Prince, without disqualification or degrading distinction on account of their religion or the place of their birth. They used to receive free grants of land exempted from any pay-

ments of revenue, and besides the highest salaries allowed under the Government, they enjoyed free of charge, large tracts of country attached to certain offices of trust and dignity, while natives of learning and talent were rewarded with numerous situations of honour and emolument. Although under the British rule, the natives of India, have entirely lost this political consequence, your Majesty's faithful subjects were consoled by the more secure enjoyment of those civil and religious rights which had been so often violated by the rapacity and intolerance of the Mussalmans; and notwithstanding the loss of political rank and power, they considered themselves much happier in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty than were their ancestors; but if these rights that remain are allowed to be unceremoniously invaded, the most valuable of them being placed at the mercy of one or two individuals, the basis on which they have founded their hopes of comfort and happiness under the British power, will be destroyed.

44th. Your Majesty has been pleased to place this part of your dominions, under the immediate control of the Court of Directors, and this Honourable body have committed the entire management of this country (Calcutta excepted) to a number of gentlemen styled Civil Servants, usually under the superintendence of a Governor-General. These gentlemen who are entrusted with the whole administration, consist of three classes ; subordinate local officers, such as Judges of Districts, Magistrates, Collectors and Commercial Agents ; Secondly, officers superior to them as Judges of Circuit, and members of different Revenue and Commercial Boards, &c. Thirdly, those who fill the highest and most important offices, as Judges of the Sudder Dewany Adalat, Secretaries to Government, the members of the Supreme Council, and sometimes a Civil Servant may rise to the highest office, of Governor General of India. In former times, native fathers were anxious to educate their children according to the usage of those days,

in order to qualify them for such offices under Government as they might reasonably hope to obtain ; and young men had the most powerful motives for sedulously cultivating their minds, in the laudable ambition of rising by their merits to an honourable rank in society ; whereas, under the present system, so trifling are the rewards held out to native talent, that hardly any stimulus to intellectual improvement remains ; yet, your Majesty's faithful subjects felt confident, that notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the natives of India would not sink into absolute mental lethargy while allowed to aspire to distinction in the world of letters, and to exercise the liberty of the press for their moral and intellectual improvement, which are far more valuable than the acquisition of riches or any other temporal advantages under arbitrary power.

45th. Those gentlemen propose and enact laws for the Government of The extensive territory under their control, and also administer these laws ; collect revenue of all

sorts, and superintend manufactories carried on in behalf of the State ; and they have introduced according to their judgment, certain judicial, commercial, and revenue systems, to which it may be supposed they are partial, as being their own, and therefore support them with their whole influence and abilities as of the most efficient and salutary character. It is also the established custom of these gentlemen to transmit official reports from time to time, to the Court of Directors, to make them acquainted with the mode in which the country is governed, and the happiness enjoyed by the people of this vast empire, from the manner in which the laws are administered.

46th. Granting that those gentlemen were almost infallible in their judgment and their systems nearly perfect ; yet your Majesty's faithful subjects may be allowed to presume that the paternal anxiety which the Court of Directors have often expressed for the welfare of the many millions dependent upon them in a country situated at the distance of

several thousand miles, would suggest to them the propriety of establishing some other means besides, to ascertain whether the systems introduced in their Indian possessions, prove so beneficial to the natives of this country, as their authors might fondly suppose or would have others believe, and whether the Rules and Regulations which may appear excellent in their eyes, are strictly put in practice.

47th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects are aware of no means by which impartial information on these subjects can be obtained by the Court of Directors or other authorities in England, except in one of the two following modes : either, first, by the existence of a free press in this country and the establishment of newspapers in the different districts under the special patronage of the Court of Directors and subject to the control of law only, secondly, by the appointment of a commission composed of gentlemen of intelligence and respectability, totally unconnected with the Governing body in this country

which may from time to time, investigate on the spot, the condition of your Majesty's faithful subjects, and judge with their own eyes regarding the operation of the systems of law and jurisprudence under which they live.

48th. But the immense labour required for surveying a country of such extent, and the great expense that would be necessary to induce men of such reputation and ability as manifestly to qualify them for the important task, to undertake a work of such difficulty, which must be frequently repeated, present great, if not insuperable obstacles to the introduction or efficacy of the latter mode of proceeding by Commission ; from which your Majesty's faithful subjects therefore, do not entertain any sanguine expectations ; unless your Majesty influenced by humane considerations for the welfare of your subjects, were graciously pleased to enjoin its adoption from a conviction of its expediency whatever might be the expense attending it.

49th. The publication of truth and the natural expression of men's sentiments

through the medium of the press, entail no burden on the State, and should it appear to your Majesty and the enlightened men placed about your throne, that this precious privilege which is so essential to the well-being of your faithful subjects, could not safely be entrusted to the natives of India, although they have given such unquestionable proofs of their loyalty and attachment, subject only to the restraints wisely imposed upon the press by the laws of England, your faithful subjects entreat on behalf of their countrymen, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant it, subject to such severer restraints and heavier penalties as may be deemed necessary; but legal restraints, not those of arbitrary power—and penalties to be inflicted after trial and conviction according to the forms of the laws of England,—not at the will and pleasure of one or two individuals without investigation or without hearing any defence or going through any of the forms prescribed by law, to ensure the equitable administration of justice.

50th. Notwithstanding the despotic power of the Moghul Princes who formerly ruled over this country, and that their conduct was often cruel and arbitrary, yet the wise and virtuous among them, always employed two intelligencers at the residence of their Nowabs or Lords-Lieutenants, *Akhbar-navees*, or news-writer who published an account of whatever happened, and a *Khoofea-navees*, or confidential correspondent, who sent a private and particular account of every occurrence worthy of notice; and although these Lords-Lieutenants were often particular friends or near relations to the Prince, he did not trust entirely to themselves for a faithful and impartial report of their administration, and degraded them when they appeared to deserve it, either for their own faults or for their negligence in not checking the delinquencies of their subordinate officers; which shews that even the Moghul Princes, although their form of Government admitted of nothing better, were convinced, that in a

country so rich and so replete with temptations, a restraint of some kind was absolutely necessary, to prevent the abuses that are so liable to flow from the possession of power.

51st. The country still abounds in wealth, and its inhabitants are still addicted to the same corrupt means of compassing their ends, to which from having long lived under arbitrary Government, they have become naturally habituated; and if its present rulers have brought with them purer principles from the land of their birth which may better withstand the influence of long residence amid the numerous temptations to which they are exposed;—on the other hand, from the seat of the Supreme Government being placed at an immense distance and the channel of communication entirely in their own hands, they are left more at liberty to follow their own interests, and looking forward to the quiet and secure enjoyment of their wealth in their native land, they may care little for the character they leave behind them in a remote

country, among a people for whose opinion they have no regard. Your Majesty's faithful subjects, therefore, humbly presume, that the existence of a restraint of some kind, is absolutely necessary to preserve your faithful subjects from the abuses of uncontrolled power.

52nd. That your Majesty may be convinced, that your faithful subjects do not allude merely to possible abuses, or point out only theoretical defects in established systems they beg leave to call your Majesty's attention to the observations contained in a number of a most respectable Baptist missionary work, the accuracy of which, although it has now been two years in circulation, in all parts of India, not one of the numerous civil servants of the Honourable Company, has ventured to dispute nor have the flagrant abuses it points out, been remedied.

53rd. It might be urged on the other hand that persons who feel aggrieved, may transmit representations to the Court of Directors, and thus obtain redress ; but the natives of

this country are generally ignorant of this mode of proceeding ; and with neither friends in England nor knowledge of the country, they could entertain no hope of success, since they know that the transmission of their representations, depends in point of time, upon the pleasure of the Local Government, which will probably, in order to counteract their influence, accompany them with observations, the nature of which would be totally unknown to the complainants, ---discouragements which in fact have operated as complete preventives, so that no instance of such a representation from the natives of Bengal, has ever been known.

54th, In conclusion, your Majesty's faithful subjects humbly beseech your Majesty, first, to cause the Rule and Ordinance and Regulation before mentioned, which has been registered by the Judge of your Majesty's Court, to be rescinded ; and prohibit any authority in this country, from assuming the legislative power, or prerogatives of your Majesty and the High Council of the realm

to narrow the privileges and destroy the rights of your Majesty's faithful subjects, who claim your protection, and are willing to submit to such laws, as your Majesty with the advice of your Council, shall be graciously pleased to enact.

Secondly, your Majesty's faithful subjects humbly pray, that your Majesty will be pleased to confirm to them the privilege, they have so long enjoyed, of expressing their sentiment through the medium of the press subject to such legal restraints as may be thought necessary or that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to appoint a commission of intelligent and independent gentlemen, to inquire into the real condition of the millions Providence has placed under your high portection.

55th. Your Majesty's faithful subjects from the distance of almost half the globe, appeal to your Majesty's heart by the sympathy which forms a paternal tie between you and the lowest of your subjects, not to overlook their condition ; they appeal to you by

the honour of that great nation which under your royal auspices has obtained the glorious title of Liberator of Europe, not to permit the possibility of millions of your subjects being wantonly trampled on and oppressed ; they lastly appeal to you by the glory of your Crown on which the eyes of the world are fixed, not to consign the natives of India, to perpetual oppression and degradation.

Appendix D.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

In conformity with the wish, you have frequently expressed, that I should give you an outline of my life, I have now the pleasure to give you the following very brief sketch :—

My ancestors were Brahmins of a high order, and, from time immemorial, were devoted to the religious duties of their race, down to my fifth progenitor, who about one hundred and forty years ago gave up spiritual exercises for worldly pursuits and aggrandisement. His descendants ever since have followed his example, and according to the usual fate of courtiers, with various success, sometimes rising to honour and sometimes falling; sometimes rich and sometimes poor; sometimes excelling in success, sometimes miserable through disappointment. But my maternal ancestors,

being of the sacerdotal order by profession as well as by birth, and of a family than which none holds a higher rank in that profession, have up to the present day uniformly adhered to a life of religious observances and devotion, preferring peace and tranquillity of mind to the excitements of ambition, and all the allurements of worldly grandeur.

In conformity with the usage of my paternal race, and the wish of my father, I studied the Persain and Arabic languages,—these being indispensable to those who attached themselves to the courts of the Mahomedan princes ; and agreeably to the usage of my maternal relations, I devoted myself to the study of the Sanskrit and the theological works written in it, which contain the body of Hindu literature, law and religion.

When about the age of sixteen, I composed a manuscript calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindus. This, together with my known sentiments on that subject, having produced a coolness between me and my immediate kindred, I

proceeded on my travels, and passed through different countries, chiefly within, but some beyond, the bounds, of Hindustan, with a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British power in India. When I had reached the age of twenty, my father recalled me, and restored me to his favour ; after which I first saw and began to associate with Europeans, and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of Government. Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them, and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, through a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants ; and I enjoyed the confidence of several of them even in their public capacity. My continued controversies with the Brahmins on the subject of their idolatry and superstition, and my interference with their custom of burning widows, and other pernicious practices, revived and increased their animosity against me ; and

through their influence with my family my father was again obliged to withdraw his countenance openly, though his limited pecuniary support was still continued to me.

After my father's death I opposed the advocates of idolatry with still greater boldness. Availing myself of the art of printing, now established in India, I published various works and pamphlets against their errors, in the native and foreign languages. This raised such a feeling against me, that I was at last deserted by every person except two or three Scotch friends, to whom, and the nation to which they belong, I always feel grateful.

The ground which I took in all my controversies was, not that of opposition to *Brahminism*, but to a *perversion* of it ; and I endeavoured to show that the idolatry of the Brahmins was contrary to the practice of their ancestors, and the principles of the ancient books and authorities which they profess to revere and obey. Notwithstanding the violence of the opposition and resistance to my

opinions, several highly respectable persons, both among my own relations and others, began to adopt the same sentiments.

I now felt a strong wish to visit Europe, and obtain by personal observation, a more thorough insight into its manners, customs, religion, and political institutions. I refrained, however, from carrying this intention into effect until the friends who coincided in my sentiments should be increased in number and strength. My expectations having been at length realised, in November, 1830, I embarked for England, as the discussion of the East India Company's charter was expected to come on, by which the treatment of the natives of India, and its future government, would be determined for many years to come, and an appeal to the King in Council, against the abolition of the burning widows, was to be heard before the Privy Council; and his Majesty the Emperor of Delhi had likewise commissioned me to bring before the authorities in England certain encroachments on his rights by the East

India Company. I accordingly arrived in England in April, 1831.

I hope you will excuse the brevity of this sketch, as I have no leisure at present to enter into particulars, and

I remain, &c.,

RAM MOHUN ROY.

Appendix E.

THE TRUST DEED OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ.

THIS INDENTURE made on the eighth day of January in the year of Christ one thousand eight hundred and thirty between Dwarkanath Tagore of Jorasanko in the town of Calcutta Zemindar, Kalinath Roy of Burranagore in the Zillah of Havelly in the Suburbs of Calcutta aforesaid Zemindar, Prosunnocoonnar Tagore of Pathoriaghatta in Calcutta aforesaid Zemindar, Ramchunder Vidyabagish of Simla in Calcutta, aforesaid Pundit and Ram Mohun Roy of Manicktollah in Calcutta aforesaid Zemindar of the one part and Baikunthanath Roy of Burranagore in the Zillah of Havelly in the Suburbs of Calcutta aforesaid Zemindar, Radhaprosad Roy of Manicktollah in Calcutta aforesaid Zemindar and Ramanath Tagore of Jorasanko in Calcutta aforesaid

Bānian (Trustees named, and appointed for the purpose hereinafter mentioned) of the other part witnesseth that for and in consideration of the sum of *Sicca* rupees ten of lawful money of Bengal by the said Baikunthanath Roy, Radhaprosad Roy and Ramanath Tagore to the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnocoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy in hand paid at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents (the receipt whereof they the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnocoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy do and each and every of them doth hereby acknowledge) and for settling and assuring the messuage, land, tenements, hereditaments and premises hereinafter mentioned to be hereby granted and released to, for and upon such uses, trusts, intents, and purposes as are hereafter expressed and declared of and concerning the same and for divers other good causes and considerations them hereunto

especially moving they the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnocoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy have and each and every of them hath granted, bargained sold, aliened, released and confirmed and by these presents do and each and every of them doth grant, bargain, sell, alien, release and confirm unto the said Baikunthanath Roy, Radhaposad Roy and Ramanath Tagore their heirs and assigns all that brick built messuage (hereafter to be used as a place for religious worship as is hereinafter more fully expressed and declared) building or tenement with the piece or parcel of land or ground thereunto belonging and on part whereof the same is erected and built containing by estimation four cottahs and two chittacks be the same a little more or less situate, lying and being in the Chitpore Road in Sootanooty in the town of Calcutta aforesaid and butted and bounded as follows (that is to say) on the north by the house and ground now or

formerly belonging to one Fooloorey Rutton, on the south by the house and ground formerly belonging to one Ramkrishna Kur since deceased, on the east by the house and ground now or formerly belonging to one Fooloorey Rutton, on the south by the house and ground formerly belonging to one Ramkrishna Kur since deceased, on the east by the house and ground now or formerly belonging to one Radhamoney Bhamonney and on the west by the said public Road or Street commonly called Chitpore Road or howsoever otherwise the said messuage, building land, tenements and hereditament or any of them now are or is or heretofore were or was situated, tenant-ed, called, known, described or distinguished and all other the messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments (if any) which are or are expressed or intended to be described or comprised in a certain Indenture of bargain and sale hereinafter referred together with all and singular the out-houses, offices, edifices, building erections, compounds, yards, walls, ditches,

hedges, fences, enclôtures, ways, paths, passages, woods, under-woods, shrubs, timber and other trees, entrances, easements, lights, privileges, profits, benefits, emoluments, advantages, rights, titles, members, appendages and appurtenances whatsoever to the said messuage, building, land, tenements, hereditaments and premises or any part or parcel thereof belonging or in any wise appertaining or with the same or any part or parcel thereof now or at any time or times heretofore held, used, occupied possessed or enjoyed or accepted, reputed, deemed taken or known as part parcel or member thereof or any part thereof (all which said messuage buildings, land, tenements, hereditaments and premises are now in the actual possession of or legally vested in the said Baikunthanath Roy, Radhaprosad Roy and Ramanath Tagore by virtue of a bargain and sale to them thereof made by the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnocoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Rām Mohun Roy for *Sicca* e es five Consideration by an Indenture

bearing date the day next before the day of the date and executed previous to the sealing and delivery of these presents for the term of one whole year commencing from the day next preceding the day of the date of the same Indenture and by force of the statute made for transferring uses into possession and the remainders, reversion and reversions yearly and other rents, issues and profits thereof and all the estate, right, title, interest, trust, use, possession, inheritance, property, profit, benefit, claim and demand whatsoever both at Law and in equity of them the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnocoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy respectively of, into, upon or out of, the same or any part thereof together with all deeds, *pottahs*, evidences, muniments and writings whatsoever relate to the said premises or any part thereof and which now are or hereafter shall or may be in the hands, possession or custody of the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnocoomar

Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy, their heirs, executors, administrators or representatives or of any person or persons from whom he or they can or may procure the same without action or suit at law or in equity. To have and to hold the said messuage, building, land, tenements, hereditaments and all and singular other the premises hereinbefore and in the said Indenture of bargain or sale described and mentioned and hereby granted and released or intended so to be and every part and parcel thereof with their and every of their rights, members and appurtenances unto the said Baikunthanath Roy, Radha Prosad Roy and Ramanath Tagore, their heirs and assigns but to the uses nevertheless upon the trusts and for the ends, intents and purposes hereinafter declared and expressed of and concerning the same and to and for no other ends, intents and purposes whatsoever' (that is to say) To the use of the said Baikunthanath Roy, Radha Prosad Roy, Ramanath Tagore or the

survivors or survivor of them or the heirs of such survivor or their or his assigns upon trust and in confidence that they the said Baikunthanath Roy, Radhaprosad Roy and Ramanath Tagore or the survivors or survivor of them or the heirs of such survivors or their or his assigns shall and do from time to time and at all times for ever hereafter permit and suffer the said messuage or building land, tenements, hereditaments and premises with their appurtenances to be used, occupied, enjoyed, applied and appropriated as and for a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal, Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the universe but not under or by any other name, designation or title peculiarly used for and applied to any particular being or beings by any man or set of men whatsoever and

that no graven image, statue or sculpture, carving, painting, picture, portrait or the likeness of anything shall be admitted within the said messuages, building land, tenements, hereditaments and premises and that no sacrifice, offering or oblation of any kind or thing shall ever be permitted therein and that no animal or living creature shall within or on the said messuage, building land, tenements, hereditaments, and premises be deprived of life either for religious purposes or for food and that no eating or drinking (except such as shall be necessary by any accident for the preservation of life) feasting or rioting be permitted therein or thereon and that in conducting the said worship and adoration no object, animate, or inanimate that has been or is or shall hereafter become or be recognized as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled, or slightly contemptuously spoken of or alluded to either in preaching, praying or in the hymns or other mode of worship that may be delivered or used in the said messuage

or building and that sermon, preaching, discourse, prayer or hymn be delivered, made or used in such worship but such as have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the universe to, the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue and the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds and also that a person of good repute and well-known for his knowledge, piety and morality be employed by the said trustees or the survivors or survivor of them or the heirs of such survivor or their or his assigns as a resident superintendent and for the purpose of superintending the worship so to be performed as is hereinbefore stated and expressed and that such worship be performed daily or at least as often as once in seven days provided always and it is hereby declared and agreed by and between the parties to these presents that in case the several trustees in and by these presents named and appointed or any of them or any other succeeding trustee of the said trust estate

and premises for the time being to be nominated or appointed as hereinafter is mentioned shall depart this life or be desirous to be discharged of or from the aforesaid Trusts or shall refuse or neglect or become incapable by or in any manner to act in the said trusts them and in such case and from time to time as often and as soon as any such event shall happen it shall be lawful for the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnooomar Tagore, Ramchandra Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy during their joint lives or the survivors or survivor of them after the death of any or either of them jointly and in concurrence with the trustees or trustee for the time being and in case of and after the death of survivor of them the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnooomar Tagore, Ramchandra Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy then for the said trustees or trustee by any deed or writing under their or his hands and seals or hand and seal to be attested by two or more credible witnesses to nominate, substitute

and appoint some other fit person or persons to supply the place of the trustees or trustee respectively so dying desiring to be discharged or refusing or neglecting or becoming incapable by or in any manner to act as aforesaid and that immediately after any such appointment shall be made all and every the messuage or building, land tenements, and hereditaments, premises which under and by virtue of these presents shall be then vested in the trustees or trustee so dying desiring to be discharged or refusing or neglecting or becoming incapable by or in any manner to act as aforesaid shall be conveyed, transferred, assigned and assured so and in such manner that the same shall and may be legally, fully and absolutely vested in the trustees or trustee so to be appointed in their or his room or stead either solely and alone or jointly with the surviving, continuing or acting trustees or trustee as the case may require and in his or their heirs or assigns to the uses upon the trusts and to and for the several ends,

intents and purposes hereinbefore declared or expressed concerning the same and that every such new trustees or trustee shall and may act and assist in the management, carrying on and execution of the trusts to which they or he shall be so appointed (although they or he shall not have been invested with the seisin of the trustees or trustee to whose places or place they or he shall have succeeded) either jointly with the surviving, continuing, or other acting trustees or trustee or solely as the case may require in such and the like manner and in all respects as if such new trustees or trustee had been originally appointed by these presents provided lastly and it is hereby further declared and agreed by and between the said parties to those presents that no one or more of the said trustees shall be answerable or accountable for the other and others of them nor for the acts, defaults or omissions of the other or others of them any consent, permission or privity by any or either of them to any act, deed or

thing to or by the other or others of them done with an intent and for the purpose only of facilitating the execution of the trust of these presents notwithstanding nor shall any new appointed trustees or trustee or their or his heirs or assigns be answerable or accountable for the acts, deeds, neglects, defaults or omissions of any trustees or trustee in or to whose place or places they or he shall or may succeed but such of them the said trustees shall be answerable, accountable, and responsible, for his own respective acts, deeds, neglects, defaults or omissions only, and the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnooomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy do hereby for themselves severally, and respectively and for their several and respective heirs, executors, administrators and representatives covenant, grant declare and agree with and to the said Baikunthanath Roy, Radhaprosad, Roy and Ramanath Tagore their heirs and assigns in manner following (that is to say) that for

and notwithstanding any act, deed, matter or thing whatsoever heretofore by the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnocoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Ray or any or either of them had made, done, committed willingly or willingly omitted or suffered to the contrary they the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnocoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy at the time of the sealing and delivery of these presents are or one of them is lawfully, rightfully and absolutely seized in their or his demesne as of fee in their or his own right and to their or his own use of the said messuage, building land, tenements, hereditaments and premises mentioned and intended to be hereby granted and released with the appurtenances both at law and in equity as of, in and for a good sure, perfect and indefeasible estate of inheritance in fee simple in severalty without any condition, contingent, trust, proviso, power of limitation or revocation of any use or uses or any other restraint matter

or thing whatsoever which can or may alter, change, charge, determine, lessen, incumber, defeat prejudicially affect or make void the same, or defeat, determine, abridge or vary the uses or trusts hereby declared and expressed and also that they, said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnocoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy (for and notwithstanding and such act, deed, matter or thing as aforesaid) or some of them now have in themselves one of them hath in himself full power and lawful and absolute authority by these presents to grant, bargain, sell, release and assure the said messuage land, tenements, hereditaments and premises mentioned and intended to be hereby granted and released with the appurtenances and the possession, reversion and inheritance thereof unto and to the use of the said Baikunthath Roy, Radhaposad Roy and Ramanath Tagore and their heirs to the uses upon the trusts and to and for the ends, intents and purposes hereinbefore expressed or declared of and concerning the same according to the

true intent and meaning these presents and further that said message or building land, tenements, hereditaments and premises with their rights, members and appurtenances shall from time to time and at all times hereafter remain, continue and be to the use upon the trusts and for the ends, intents and purposes hereinbefore declared or expressed concerning the same and shall and lawfully may be peaceably and quietly holden and enjoyed and applied and appropriated accordingly without the let, suit, hindrance, claim, demand, interruption or denial of the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kālnath Roy, Prosunnocoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy or any or either of them or any or either of their heirs, representatives or of any other person or persons now or hereafter claiming or to claim or possessing any estate, right, title, trust or interest of, in, to or out of the same or any part or parcel thereof by, from, under or in trust for them or any or either of them and that free and clear and clearly and absolutely acquitted, exonerated

and discharged or otherwise by the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnocoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy or any or either of them their or any or either of their executors, heirs, administrators and representatives well and sufficiently saved, harmless and kept indemnified of from and against all and all manner of former and other gifts, grants, bargains, sales, leases mortgages, uses, wills, devises, rents, arrears of rents, titles, charges and other incumbrances, estates whatsoever had made, done, committed, created, suffered or executed by the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Prosunnacoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidya-bagish and Ram Mohun Roy or any or either of them or any or either of their heirs or representatives or any persons now or here after rightfully claiming or possessing any estate, right, title or interest at law or in equity from, through, under or in trust for them or any or either of them or with their or any or either of their consent privity or procurement or acts, means or

defaults and moreover that the said Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Rōy, Prosunnocoomar Tagore, Ramchunder Vidyabagish and Ram Mohun Roy or their heirs and representatives, and all and every other person or persons whomsoever now or hereafter lawfully equitable and rightfully claiming or possessing any estate, right, title, use, trust or interest either at law or in equity of, into, upon or out of the said messuage land, tenements, hereditaments and premises mentioned or intended to be hereby granted and released with the appurtenances or any part thereof by, from, under or in trust for them or any or either of them shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter at the reasonable request, of the said Baikunthanath Roy, Radhaprosad Roy and Ramanath Tagore or the survivors, or survivor of them or the heirs of the survivor of their or his assigns make, do acknowledge, suffer, execute and perfect all and every such further and other lawful and reasonable acts, things, deeds, conveyances and assurances in the law whatso-

ever for the further, better, more perfectly, absolutely and satisfactorily granting, conveying, releasing, confirming and assuring the said message or building land, tenements, hereditaments and premises mentioned to be hereby granted and released and every part and parcel thereof and the possession, reversion and inheritance of the same with their and every of their appurtenances unto the said Baikunthanath Roy, Radhaprasad Roy and Ramanath Tagore or other the trustees or trustee for the time being and their heirs for the uses upon the trusts and to and for the ends, intents and purposes hereinbefore declared and expressed as by the said trustees and trustee or his or their council learned in the law shall be reasonably devised or advised and required so as such farther assurance or assurances contain or imply in them no further or other warranty or covenants on the part of the person or persons who shall be required to make or execute the same then for or against the acts, deeds, omissions or defaults of him,

her or them or his, her or their heirs, executors, administrators and so that he, she or they be not compelled or compellable to go or travel from the usual place of his, her or their respective abode for making or executing the same In witness whereof the said parties to these presents have hereunto subscribed and set their hands and seals the day and year first within written.

Dwarkanath Tagore.

Kalinath Roy.

Prosunnocoomar Tagore.

Ramchunder Vidyabagish

Ram Mohun Roy.

Baikunthamath Roy.

Radhaprosad Roy.

Ramanath Tagore.

Sealed and delivered at Calcutta

aforesaid in the presence of

J. Fountain

Atty. at Law.

Ramgopal Day.

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5. RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY ...	1	8

To be had of—

(1.) MR. I. A. ISAAC,

. 8, *British Indian Street, Calcutta* ;

(2.) MR. N. N. BHATTACHARJEE, B. A.,

Head Master, New Indian School,

42 1/3, *Hari Ghose Street, Calcutta.*

